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JANUARY 10, 1977

CANADA'S NEWSMAGAZINE

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Macleans A special Preview Issue focusing on the people and events that will make news in 1977

Gerry Cheevers may be just a spectator at the Stanley Cup, but his horse, **Royal Ski**, may be a Derby winner.
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After years embroiled in politics, **Jane Fonda** is returning to films. One of them is comedy, *Dick Tracy*. Jane.
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For the first time on the home screen, the chance to see a man.
Eval Krieveld leads a band of young men.
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While **René Lévesque** will continue to dominate the news in 1977, as much of his attention will be held by the economic chaos he inherited as by thoughts of re-election.
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The good news for **Jimmy Carter** when he becomes President on January 20, is the year-improved chance for peace in the Middle East. The bad news is a stagnating American economy.
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After two unmitigated film disasters in a row—*Lucky Lady* and *A Woman of Time*—**Lisa Minnelli** may have another Oscar run in *New York, New York*.
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Two years after beginning his inquiry into what a pipeline would do to the Mackenzie Valley and the North, **Judge Thomas Berger** will be submitting his findings.
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If Joe Clark remains in trouble with his party, if the economy continues to improve, and the polls are still leaning back his way, **Pierre Trudeau** may call an early election.
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Interview

With Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau

Beset by political problems and hemmed in by historic opponents, Pierre Elliott Trudeau has been hard-pressed to find time for his kind of lengthy, in-depth interviews that best reveal the direction of his thinking. He made an exception in November for Jean Paré, editor-in-chief of *Meilleure*, a French-language sister publication to *Le Devoir*. During an hour-long session in a suite at Montreal's Rex-Carlton Hotel, the Prime Minister ranged over the future of the economy after controls come off, seceded the problem of separatist strains in Canada—in parts of the West as well as in Quebec—and finally admitted to his own future in maintaining the Liberal Party's strength in all regions of the country. The two was in a friendly relaxed mood for the interview. But notes Paré who has known Trudeau since the 1950s: "He was, as always, intellectually very alert, and constantly conscious of his image."

Maclean's: You have been Prime Minister for eight years now. But before going to the office, you were never only a party man in politics. Was the experience of being head of the Liberal Party changed your vision of Canada, or of the exercise of democracy?

Trudeau: Not my vision of Canada, no, but it has certainly changed my view on the exercise of democracy, on power. It [the party] was a lever that I did not know about before. For me, the elected mandate was almost a mechanical thing. I realize now that a political party is much more complex. It's made up of men and women human beings who cannot be programmed. But if, on the one hand, the party is a very powerful lever, it is, at the same time, very fragile. It's not simply a lever that one pulls on and that immediately makes one people elected. No, there are people, worried about their future, about what is happening in government and it's always necessary to explain to them why we adopted this law or that policy. For example, a Liberal in an eastern, British Columbia, as much as he is a Liberal, is probably further removed from this [Trudeau's] bilingual policy than a Conservative from St. Hyacinthe.

Maclean's: Do you feel as comfortable in the role of party leader as you do in being Canada's national leader?

Trudeau: Let me put it this way. I have been less well prepared and less skillful [as party officer] than many other politicians, but not from lack of interest. On the contrary, it surprises myself sometimes with how easily I can become a fierce partisan

and even more surprising, a team man. But the reality is that I think I have discovered that, but that others don't see it in me. Too many Liberals don't see me as a party man.

Maclean's: Would you say that that is one of your weak points?

Trudeau: Yes, absolutely. In fact that is one of the reasons why in 1966 they had to put my name to get me to say for the last, unhappy of the party. I said: "I have only been in the party for three years. I don't know if it's a powerful instrument that I wouldn't



I'M SURPRISED AT HOW EASILY I CAN BECOME A FIERCE PARTISAN, AND EVEN A TEAM MAN

know how to manipulate.

Maclean's: You said recently that west of the Manitoba border the Liberals are a third party. There are only 13 western MPs left, most of them in BC. Was this inevitable?

Trudeau: Well, I would not say that I have failed to keep it alive because it is, and has been, stronger since I became the Prime Minister. But where I failed is in not being able to get it back the life it had under [Maclean's] King. Well, age is more diffi-

cult because of the reasons you have just mentioned. But I would not like to admit the lack of direction given by me and my ministers. King, after the explosive [secession] crisis of 1917, succeeded in rebuilding the party. Later he had started. Me, I didn't succeed.

Maclean's: How can you rebuild the Liberal Party in the West, especially since you have said that the failure of the Liberal Party is tied to the failure of Canada?

Trudeau: One of the things I like to do is travel west very often, to be there physically and I think I have been there more often than any other Prime Minister since King, perhaps even more than King because travel is easier. What is disappointing is not only that I have failed to convert a number of other parties but often I realize that many of our own members are not on the same wavelength as I am. They say that they have been dominated for too long by Quebec and Ontario. A very strong conviction is that we have given too much to Quebec and not enough to the West. Everybody has his own perception, but what is unfortunate is that this perception runs very deep and is difficult to change. I have tried to change this and I will continue trying. I am not conquering of Quebec "donors" in the West. We need strong people who will look at me and say: "I believe in that and will fight for it." I find it quite worrisome that there are so many conceptual forces in the country. The Alberta phenomenon, with its recently discovered riches, is a dark landscape. It's become a province so fertile that the rest of the country will say to get hold of its riches. It's a rather bizarre response for a province that in the 1950s had to be pulled out of bankruptcy by the central government.

Maclean's: Do you see a tension between the actual demands by the provinces and the weakness of the central government in public opinion polls, as if the weakening of one government then allowed the others to push for more?

Trudeau: I'm not sure that the weakness of the central government as expressed in the polls does not have corresponding examples among the provincial governments. I can name fifteen four or five provinces where the party in power is not particularly solid. I don't think that is saying there has been a weakening of the central government. What the provinces report at maximum is that we are too strong now. With a swing of the pendulum, it is probably true. The more frightened people are, the greater the problems across the board the world and Canadian econo-

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men are threatened, the more the values of children change in relation to those of their parents, the more we should try to regroup around the leader of the tribe.

Macdonald: Is the fact that you're meeting among people you have painted, how do you see Canada's future in the short term?

Trudeau: I'm an optimist. I also see a huge potential. It is an extraordinarily strong country. Its natural resources, education, its advanced technology. I don't feel any doubt. We must simply find our confidence, our faith in the future which is being so run down by all these forces, including the separatist forces in Quebec, or the other kind of separation movement which is threatening the rest of the country. All this is condemned by the world that we see as threatening. In other, more compact countries, like Britain, Sweden, or even better, Japan—Japan in particular is an extremely homogeneous country—no less disparate. Japan is homogeneous geographically and from the point of view of population. The census rate is much lower than here and the entrepreneurial forces much weaker. Consequently the Japanese world is more dynamic. There are advantages we don't have. We pay the price for being the second largest country in the world in size, with a population that comes from the four corners of the world, and for having two official languages. There are advantages on the one hand, and disadvantages on the other. It is enough to force people toward hopeful thinking rather than utopian ones. That may role as a palliative, so try to do this.

Macdonald: Just to an advantage for a country to have no resources? It means that countries without natural resources such as Switzerland, Japan and Singapore get along better than the rest.

Trudeau: It's because they have to learn to use their hands. We are lazy by comparison. Laissez-faire isn't a big fault but we lack imagination and that is worse. I have actually discussed the world of business, and perhaps I should not allow myself to criticize it. But I can't put up with their pessimism. By definition, traditional businessmen don't see the world changing. They use the context that is in place, the rules that exist, and the law they change the better it is for them. It's the same with all institutions, pretty much. In the churches it's the same.

Macdonald: When you spoke a year ago about the American dollar market and the role of business, were you thinking about the fact that from 30% to 90% of overseas business activity in Canada are controlled by Americans?

Trudeau: No, I didn't have that idea in mind. It is a question of government and economic legislation. I don't think we are at all behind what I think we are. In the example I gave—was massive unemployment on the one hand and on the other a number of things that ought to be done that the market economy did not bring together. Who needs the unemployed in an industry

where they have been redundant? It's not private business. Therefore the state has to spend lots of money, increase its budget to retrain and recycle these workers to move them to sectors where there is a work. Thus, when I see a market economy that has a considerable unemployment rate right next to a society that needs work done, both in the private and public domains, I see that private enterprise is not resolving this problem. So we have to do something.

Macdonald: In principle, before election time, you have two years left to solve major problems: such as inflation, unemployment, relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada. What measures do you have for rethinking unemployment?

Trudeau: Those aren't you talk about are



COMPARED WITH SOME OTHER NATIONS, WE'RE LAZY, AND EVEN WORSE WE LACK IMAGINATION

different by nature. For example, since industrial societies have existed, we have gone from unemployment to inflation. That is not going to change under me. I don't think that a free economy as we know it will ever resolve this problem. We prefer liberty to planning and we are probably right. But that means that we cannot regulate the economy to the smallest detail. And with rising expectations, we risk having an even higher degree of inflation accompanied by a higher level of unemployment. That doesn't mean that we can't improve things. In the past year we have effectively reduced inflation from almost 11% to 6.5%. That's not bad. But we have done this by putting a lid down on the economy. We did this by wage and price controls.

Macdonald: Your country are relaxed, what is to prevent inflation going up again immediately?

Trudeau: Our plan is to not remove controls until we have some confidence that inflation will not rise again immediately. And that's why we spoke of a relatively long period of controls, up to a maximum of three years. This will be a period during which we will try to orient Canadians and the economy toward options and directions that will not produce this inflation. That is to say, we will try to channel rising expectations toward other areas besides material well-being rather than trying to make them believe that it is going to consist of doubling every 30 years. I have well have to be other things to go after in life—perhaps greater orientation toward quality of life rather than quantity of things and products. And if in this way we arrive at some sort of self-discipline, I see contained the economy will improve. But all of this is part of a much larger psychological context and comes back to another area you mentioned earlier: Canadian unity, the question of bilingualism and federal-provincial relations, and that we must rediscover faith in this country, a faith that seems to have been weakened.

Macdonald: If we exclude periods of war, don't the anti-inflation controls constitute, at least in terms of Canadian history, one of the first times nationalized state intervention in the market economy?

Trudeau: As a relatively massive intervention, yes. That's not to say that there have not been state interventions. When we created the Department of Regional Economic Expansion in 1969, and when we de facto told the rich provinces that we would transfer resources to poor provinces, that was a rather major intervention in the economy.

Macdonald: But this did not have the same effects of control.

Trudeau: Not on an economic level. But it's still odd. When we tell an industry or a province so that we can then say to an industry we will give you a million dollars or two if you establish in a region where there is high unemployment, or in the Gaspé or in the Maritime provinces, or in the Eastern Townships, that's an intervention in the economy. It's an intervention in the micro-economy that is not as generalized as in the case of the controls. I think that's largely why the business world, broader financial circles, have been disappointed. They said to the media: Good grief, it's true, then, that the state can intervene so massively on our affairs.

Macdonald: Do you see a hostile reaction to the Government, to the expansion of the bureaucracy in the past 10 or 15 years?

Trudeau: There has indeed been reactions from some sectors that are not favorable to the government. But what a paradoxical in that a liberal government—I use the word in an ideological rather than political sense—does the opposite for the sake of intervention. Our position is that we have

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Canada at childhood's end: we can grow and prosper in our new reality—or perish in it

Column by Peter C. Newman

Like a debutante who has stepped into the new Canada for the first time, she is now a year face to face with some harsh new realities. During most of our brief existence as a nation we were all but exempt from the terrors of modern history, a lucky people enjoying a wonderful book of geography. For 100 years the most common of Canadian society, which has always developed on some form of French-English understanding, remained relatively undisturbed. Nearly every Rotary Club speaker would have rubber chicken after apologetically forgetting French would not find that some of his best friends were from "La Belle Provinsance" while most Quebecers figured that even going to a tennis court in a beach at the American French-speaking. Canadians retained the folk memory of their clergy preaching during the long silence after the conquest that "the best way to remain French is to stay British."

But as 1977 begins and we are being forced to ponder the true implications of the recent Livingstone victory on November 13, we can sense the certainty of an age being cast. What comes now will be very different from what came before. Suddenly each one of us is being confronted with having to recognize just how fragile this country has suddenly become.

The outlook for the next 12 months is that Canada's future will be decided by an interminable series of federal-provincial conferences. Apart from the very real possibility that we are severed simply by asking ourselves into the 21st century, some English Canadians may find the very idea that we should be using down is reasonable men to debate our continued existence an intolerable prospect. To those of us who live this country, any discussion among reasonable men on whether or not Canada is worth preserving may seem a little like challenging Euclid to prove that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points. But the more we discuss and the debate has already been joined.

As we begin to grapple with René Lévesque's terminal threat in our constituency as a nation, it seems to me that only one decision offers any hope of success. The rallying of Canadians from all provinces (including Quebec, where 60% of the voters cast ballots against the Parti Québécois) into a non-partisan movement dedicated to the idea of pursuing Confederation, even if in radically altered form. This new style movement would promote as a thoughtful member the rising

political advantages of Canada's central and extensive by illuminating and integrating the view we hold of ourselves and the society in which we live.

Before Lévesque and his determined daughter took power it was fashionable to side Canada for granted and the few thoughtful men and women who worried about our future were regarded with a kind of benign malice. Like television preachers or men who devote their lives to collecting rare butterflies.

Despite the freedom and sometimes tedious quest to define our national identity (it's high time we realized that Canada is no mere accident of history or some ancient validation), many dream. What we've got here is a daily miracle of a country. Ever since 1867 we seem to have kept



our early sense of self. Robert Kennedy's dictum that a nation is a body of people who have done great things together.

In the past 108 years we've evolved a subcontinent, taming one of the world's harshest geographies, attained for ourselves a high standard of comfort and contributed more than our share to the defense of freedom in two world wars. Compared with most other nations, we remain relatively poor and unworldly. We built a country in the process of becoming, our present structure is not rigid and the excitement of new frontiers beckons only as an all-day day.

But despite our achievements and progress, English Canada has been agelessly slow to recognize its own potential. One is a pity about its penitence and unholy. Anthony Burgess, the British novelist

heroically presented our unyielding as foreigner's camp when he wrote "John Kennedy, Galtsoff, and Marshall McLuhan are the two greatest modern Canadians that the U.S. has produced." Only in Quebec has there grown a spirit of self-determination, an inner kind of renaissance, a rethinking which eventually translated itself into political power. The Quebec revolution proved that a vibrant politics requires a vibrant culture. It was the poets, painters, writers and singers of Quebec who gave the people enough self-confidence to push René Lévesque into office.

What we need and need desperately is a cultural re-revolution in English Canada which would create a vibrant ourselves.

Ironically, the man who by definition ought to be leading any national effort to counter Quebec's powerfully articulated Parti Québécois finds himself a prisoner of his past as a constitutional expert. Pierre Trudeau has been warning the constitution at anyone who'll listen like some tiger's bell, apparently never realizing that law can be used only as the leading force of an existing consensus, not as the means of changing the attitudes of individual citizens. While it would be less than scientific for Ontario to treat Quebec with hands-off passivity like some dying military unit, mandating its invertebrate behavior with treaty presents it seems equally silly to keep insisting that the status quo remains a viable ideology. Caught between militant demands and moderate prohibitions, Trudeau has created an incoherent, distancing, out of political vibrations far removed from reality. Instead of those primary impulses and volleys that first brought him into prominence. In the process he has alienated so many of his longtime followers that instead of wanting to support him most members of his natural constituency only desire to exist political or secede as terrible that it has no name.

In the circumstances, Confederation's supporters will have to work through their own, culture-partisan channels to reinforce and redirect the strong patriotic feelings that already exist across the country. Once English Canada achieves that state of grace (believing in itself) it should be much less difficult to convince enlightened Quebecers that their best chance of surviving as a proud autonomous society is through a firm alliance with the larger power of the Canadian nation. There is no other way to ensure that a highly individualistic culture of not quite as million people in a way about one way of more than 300 million strangers.

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TORONTO DOMINION

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Quebec in Confederation is more of the same: a political and regional economic vacuum. Trudeau also wanted it would be "a very serious matter of our sense of respect about inflation and unemployment and just being concerned on their behalf or national unity issues. The economy is very hot so the political now is at what was before the election of November (the day of the Quebec election)." The other lines of economic impact for Canada's future in the focus on facing the government on several applications to build an Arctic gas pipeline. In its scope and cost, the proposed pipeline dwarfs the construction 11 years ago of the Canadian Pacific Railway. At issue are two conflicting claims, the resolution of which will reflect a crucial judgment on national values. On the one hand, the multinational corporate structure wants to ensure security of energy supplies for hungry markets in southern Canada and the United States. On the other, native groups need their supporters' need to preserve traditional life in the North. Guiding Ottawa in the deliberations will be the eagerly awaited report of the Special Court judge Tom Berger on the social and ecological impact of the proposed, eight-billion-dollar Mackenzie Valley line (page 30).

Hence the challenge before the National Energy Board on the conflicting roles of several pipeline proposals and the low level of private reserves which cast doubt on earlier optimism by companies on delivery. Informed Ottawa speculation on "no pipeline in the immediate future." The year will also be rich in other matters that, in normal times, would be regarded as trivial. Prime Minister Donald Macdonald, Minister of Finance, announced a new government initiative campaign, must get a new budget approved by June. He will bring in a new budget, probably with tax cuts in the spending and he will introduce a bill incorporating financing agreements reached by

the 11 first ministers last month (see *Newsweek*, December 27).

Justice. A special review on abortion law will be published early this year. Justice Minister Jean Beaudet has been told to bring back a watershed change in divorce law removing the concept of "marriage breakdown."

Energy. Beyond the pipeline issue, there will be oil price increases in response to recent oil shocks and as part of the policy of allowing Canadian prices to rise to international levels.

Parliament. Two national house-keeping matters also hold out the promise of enhancing parliament's credibility. Televised Commons debates is a high government priority, in part because the Liberals feel Trudeau can outperform Clark before the camera. The Tories, perhaps sensing the same scenario, have reservations.

More significantly, House Leader Allan Rock is determined to push through some control of interest rates for men and women in an attempt to help restore their confidence in politicians. Current proposals before cabinet call for disclosure of assets over a fixed amount by both politicians and their spouses. Macdonald also wants that control be extended to senior civil servants but has been told by leading corporate dealmakers, he won't proceed with the legislation.

But certainly, the focus in Ottawa will be on Pierre Trudeau rather than legislation. Despite his many occupational risks, Trudeau continues to be a central figure in Quebec. In his past and inflation, the man suggested that of Lévesque's, a referendum "very badly, he obviously would have failed in his quest for office." He would "go very far" in the standard. In Quebec, he was not very successful for a separation. I would have failed and I would already go away, perhaps to fight another day in some other field. In a private moment before the Quebec election, Trudeau expressed his thinking more directly. The election of a new government, he said then, "wouldn't be the end of the world. I would have fought the good fight."

Controlling interest

Last fall Finance Minister Donald Macdonald and the government were widely battered over the wage-price control program. Labor had its day of protest, business took out full-page newspaper advertisements to denounce the program, and economists of all stripes called for a quick end to controls. A weary Macdonald allowed that he would be the "most dedicated" person in Ottawa to controls only once it was clear that the end of 1978 could be lifted early. Some cabinet colleagues, viewing the program as a political alibi, feared that as only one was placed, Alan Leighton, Board Chairman



Macdonald: he who battles to save

Philip why quit when you're ahead?

Jean-Luc Piquet began shopping for another job.

But all this has changed. Controls appear likely to continue, at least for the duration of 1977. Piquet, at the government's urging, may even stay. "I'm not a quitter," says Piquet, who is usually referred to as a Christian "payroll" by an executive director Robert Johnston, who Piquet was not about to leave. Said Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau at a year-end press conference: "The point is, controls are working. They have succeeded in bringing the tide of inflation down. People seem to be realizing that they are serious and therefore, should be kept on." Many would quarrel with Trudeau's claim that controls are responsible for the nationwide nine-week strike figures; the inflation rate has been sharply halved from 10.6% when controls were introduced in October, 1976, to 5.6% by last November.

There were two main reasons for the government's decision not to abandon controls early. First, government planners are not convinced that inflation has been tamed despite the decreasing figures. There are signs the inflation rate could move higher again in 1977 as lower food and energy prices, which are not controlled, begin to rise and the full impact of the recent devaluation of the Canadian dollar is felt. In addition, Canadians still have an "inflationary psychology" that must be countered. Macdonald said last month's federal government finance ministers meeting that controls are "not a silver bullet" and "inflationary pressures have been effectively wound down." The fact that many labor contracts call for immediate increases over controls are lifted leaves much to be desired. And this condition has been met, Macdonald said.

It is doubtful whether the government could have maintained controls on the face of continued strong criticism. But a opposi-

tionist has denuded considerably in recent weeks. Labor's campaign ran out of steam after the October 14 day of protest, which was somewhat of a flop, and has been hampered by better market shares. Business has also bowed down its attitude, perhaps out of a realization that a dumping company, not the wage-price control program is primarily responsible for lagging profits. As for the general public, a recent government survey showed 69% felt the law was "a good thing." The program even received some support in December from the Economic Council of Canada, which led to its survival report that "continuing reliance on all fronts will be necessary."

The damping factor for consumer controls, however, is the continued support shown for them by the provincial governments. Their agreement with Ottawa to enable the anti-inflation control of the program, although hospital and school employees are due to expire in April and if the provinces had decided to withdraw support it would have been difficult to continue the program. Some pressure, under pressure from business and labor leaders in better sectors, was exerted through the anti-inflation provincial meeting in Ottawa in mid-December. Trudeau was able to report a general consensus behind continuation of controls. While the provincial finance ministers met with Macdonald to work out details, all but one of two provinces are expected to renew their anti-inflation.

While controls will not be lifted this year, decisions will have to be made on just how to end the program. The government is not considering withdrawing permanent controls, the inflation advocated by Alex Kenneth Galt, the economist who Trudeau said had "permeated" his thoughts just a year ago (see *Macdonald* of *Goldsmith*). "It's useful to have a couple

Resorting (as usual) to half-measures

Early in the new year, the government is expected to take two steps to fulfill major promises from the 1974 election campaign: introduction of a consumption tax and aid for urban transit. The competition bill was first introduced in June, 1977, by then consumer affairs minister Ron Bedford. In a long-overdue attempt to update Canada's anti-trust law, which dates back to 1880. But it encountered such a storm of protest from big business that it was killed, nearly wrecking Bedford's political career in the process.

The centerpiece of Bedford's bill was a proposal for a Competition Tribunal with powers similar to those of the Federal Trade Commission in the United States to dissolve corporate mergers it felt would lessen competition in the marketplace. Big business denounced the proposal and other measures in the bill designed to make it easier for the Crown to win objection in eminent cases.

The government, surveying the wreckage after its retreat on Bedford's bill, decided to try again, but to proceed slowly and in stages. The first step was legislation incorporating some of the less controversial of Bedford's measures, including safeguards to protect consumers from misleading business practices. It was introduced in November 1977, by then Attorney General, Darcy McKeown. At the same time, Bedford's successor as Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, and finally passed in 1978. Meanwhile, a study committee has been set up to review the merger and monopoly sections of the act. The committee made its report last spring and Chief Adam Smith, the original free enterprise economist, recommended the sections be watered down. The government has apparently bought most of the committee's recommendations. At the last cabinet meeting before the Christmas recess, a stage two bill was approved for introduction in parliament shortly after it resumes sitting January 24. The bill itself has been revised in the new bill, but with the last amendments, some of the original Board and with authority to deal only with mergers in cases where merged corporations control 25% or more of the market in the field of urban transit, the govern-

ment is expected to announce its plans this month. The proposal being considered calls for grants of \$10 per capita to cities, or about \$225 million, to be spread over five years to assist in the development of urban transit as well as to play for the elimination of railway level crossings and relocation of downtown rail stations. That may be a lot of money, but it is far from the aid promised by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau during the 1974 election campaign, when he announced "some of the things we're going to do to help cities grow in a more healthy way" would be "new transit places" rather than massive and painful projects. These included promises to play for 100% of new commuter trains manufactured in Canada, 50% of new commuter rail stations and platforms, and 25% of new buses and subway line made in Canada. When Federal Transport Minister Coo Lang and Finance Minister Donald Macdonald outlined the watered-down version of the election promises to Ontario Transport Minister James Brown and Treasury Darcy McKeown at a meeting in Ottawa November 30, the Ontario ministers were furious. Ontario, which has poured \$200 million into urban transit development itself over the past 12 years, has the biggest share in any new federal program. Brown pointed out that the money being offered, about \$16.5 million for Ontario in the coming year, would barely cover the cost of eliminating railway crossing problems and not begin to make a dent in urban transit costs.

Meanwhile, the Centre government had already ordered 30 new double-deck commuter trains at a cost of \$30 million on the basis of Trudeau's 1974 campaign promise to finance the purchase. When Brown was disappointed with this money going to come from Lévesque promised to give his cabinet colleagues to kick some more money into the pot, but reminded Zou that the federal government is committed to maintaining its own expenditures. Even if it means more money in the long run, however, initial reactions indicate they will have been astonished that they will provide no more. AN UNDISCOVERED



Clark to repeat the question, Sir What?



Ontario's commuter train of the near future: priority is in the eye of the beholder

a tough, two-way battle between Schröder's social democracy and Conservative leader Sterling Lyon's ardent free-market Liberal leader Charles Huchel could draw off enough votes to produce a minority government. Many Ministers are disenchanted and dislike Lyon. He was attorney general under Roblin's Conservative government at the time of the signing of the Churchill Falls Industries deal with the infamous Alexander Kasar, and he won his party's leadership after a vicious battle with Sidney Spivak, which has left the Tories scoured.

However, Ed Schejter, assistant secretary of the American Farm Bureau, says he no longer has the bright optimism he had when he was the president in 1999. His cabinet members have been charged with negotiating the government's relationship with northern border development that was going to cost \$1.5 billion, and his list of free-trade dollars without being completed. He says the administration has been "consistently advanced and as persistently dismal" that he is considering a cabinet post with the Labor-Human Resources Committee, where he would support organized labor's \$600-million strike in the government and is popular among farmers. His government has passed millions of dollars into a spending program and with private contractors. Farmers are not bad feeling, but they are not happy. He says the government is not doing well. He says the government is not doing well. He says the government is not doing well.

Manitoba's economy has escaped both the rapid expansion and hasty decline some other provinces and will probably remain stable, however the election goes. What Manitobans can expect between now and then, however, is a boom in the investment rhetoric. **SCOTT W. ENGLISH**
GERALD WARD **BOGALIE WOLFE**

ONTARIO

Ottawa Premier Wilton Davis would like to think he still has some of the old political magic left for 1977. It would be a nice trick, for instance, if he could use the Parti Quebecois victory in Quebec to help fashion a Conservative victory in Ontario. Like winning a medal proudly in bed, the feat is difficult but not impossible given sufficient adeptness. And Davis is nothing if not adept.

Obama has often played a broker's role between the quarrelling wags of the country. John Roberts, *Davis'* predecessor, proposed a kind of benign, or apocryphal, national federal-prosecutorial compromise that he distributed gaily to these documenters and didn't do Roberts any harm, among the wags back home. *Davis* would like to strike the shape state-mandate clause, and that's why Obama's intervention to the mystic on November 15 was to send off routine messages of congratulation, and promises of cooperation deeper stage, just among what one cabinet member



Devle and Lewis: the mutual admiration society seems to have been disbanded

calls "the uneasy answers and other assorted hard truths."

That is why Ontario has played down a rush of inquiries from Quebec industrialists looking for a place to move to, Gieseler says. "It would be sad to greet them with Levesque's evidence that English Canada is not to screw them."

Three days after the election, Davis set up meetings between Ontario Treasurer Darcy McKeough and two senior Quebec ministers—Jacques Parizeau and Claude Morin—and between senior treasury bureaucrats from both provinces.

That Sunday he told Toronto's *Evening Star* that "Ojibwa's traditional responsibility to keep this country together has never been greater." Significantly, he quoted from a 1963 Roberts speech that "the most discovery that there are some Ojibwa people who are not of our Confederation should not come to us from the press, and shatters our century-old home. Rather let us proceed in good confidence and overcome these defects and make it a more durable dwelling."

Whatever the reason in Quebec, the withdrawal from Ojibwa was business as usual. It is all part of the effort to keep this Ojibwa-Quebec relationship contained and under control. The Ojibwa are not to be the bridge to Ojibwa nations in the West.

leading role in creating the so-called "Common Front" of premiers at the December federal provincial conference in Ottawa and when the issue crumbled, Davis was clearly annoyed. He was upset by the behavior of Newfoundland Premier Frank Moores, Nova Scotia's Donald Ross and P.E.I. Alex Campbell, because, as he said, "Davis felt they had too much to drink."

The Oateses promptly tried to steer damage claims conversations away from responsibility at 24 Savana Drive, and it was he who broke the awkward silence after Pru-



Minister Tradoua told the group that the awarded package of personnel proposals was not acceptable. Oursing could live with a compromise, Davis said—by which he meant a smaller share of the too-tight. "He felt it would be a disaster to bring tough and tight away with no agreement, because of the propaganda value of that for Lévesque," an aide explained.

The Ontario leader's personal relationship with Lévesque is friendly despite their political differences and despite Davis' concerns about Lévesque's travelling companion in Ottawa. 'Who was that?' he wanted to know. Private secretary, came the reply. What was Lévesque's marital status? Separated, Davis was told. He frowned.

He has moved to high national office, serving as secretary of state and as ambassador to the United Nations. The disenchanted voters who 10 months ago reduced his solid majority to the first minority for the Tories in three decades are apparently showing signs of forgiveness. Both public and private polls show the Premier raising ahead of his party, while Stephen Lewis of the N.S.P. is holding his own, and Liberal leader Jean Charest is falling fast. The Gallup poll shows 32% of the electorate favoring Deschamps' premier, compared to 30% for Lewis and 18% for Charest.

All three parties are keying up for an election in May or June, and if Dorn doesn't make a strong come-back, one cabinet minister says, "Don't count him out federally. He has little confidence in Trudeau as well as for Clark, well, the jury is still out, but you get the feeling Dorn doesn't expect too much from him."

Lewis says that will be his last campaign—which is what he had before moving the vote from third to second place the last time—and of Stewart Smith, whose performance since assuming the Cabinet leadership 11 months ago has ranged from dis-

used to abstract, runs true to form, he will be gone, too.

The election, when it comes, is expected to be a struggle. The warm personal relationship that existed between Lewis and the conservative Goring the last session at the legislature after the war leader made a series of bitter attacks on the Premier over environmental and occupational health issues. As for Smith, an underdog the Premier is "thoroughly disgusted" with the way the Liberal leader attacks programs to aid bilingualism in the federal and provincial levels while simultaneously calling for Germanization to show "the tolerance" in keep the country together.

So, chances are that there will be a bruising election campaign for Clinton in 1992 and chances are it will take place this spring. Unless, of course, Davis' fellow is fatal for post-nomination comes into play. His rules explain that he is big on spring elections in the fall and big on fall elec-

With a minority government the choice may not be his to make. CLARE WATTS

QUEBEC

Near the end of 1976, René Lévesque walked into a smoke-filled auditorium at Montreal's north end and promptly launched the next campaign for the Parti Québécois—wearing a referendum to ex-

incumbent Quebec from Confederation. The newly elected premier told the party's national council: "We can win, we've got to win."

Within the hardscrabble, facing the province in 1977 began unfolding in rapid succession. Loversgate's long-held vision of an independent Quebec seemed doomed to the short-term to be blunted by the more pedestrian and more pressing day-to-day issues of governing. With unemployment at the province nudging 10% compared with the national average of less than 8%, a \$1.4-billion Olympe debt to be funded, an unaccomplished Olympic Stadium to be built with and the question of language rights to be settled, Loversgate clearly has his hands full for the next year.

Meanwhile, the Premier is faced with the dual task of keeping the independence ideal alive and placing the radical wing of his party, many of whose members were a more active role in government policy making, formally. The two issues are likely to work at his fever. While there is no chance of reformed union in 1977, it may be able to incorporate firmly united by letting the parliamentary wing govern the province and at the same time keeping the party minimum fully employed in preparation for the eventual vote.

Future strategy needs: the Olympics have proved to be the Paris Quilbourn's first jarring encounter with political reality, and problems associated with the 1976 games promised to be a major preoccupation throughout the year. A committee chaired



Using the unfinished stadium will be forced to make a decision on what they to complete it at the awesome cost that would be involved, scale down its grandiose design or find some other solution. And while the committee haggles, the fund cuts of the stadium have increased \$63,000 a day. Consequently, surrounding payment of the Olympic debt is also problematic to least the government in 1977. A bill introduced by the Lebanese parliament that will also force the

City of Montreal to cover \$214 million of the deficit has enraged civil leaders. Montreal Mayor Jean Drapeau called the law "extremely dangerous (and) supremely unjust." Solid unionism leader Michel Chartrand "[i]t was reactionary and directed against the workers. If the PQ takes the workers every time the financiers make a face, it won't be the kind of independence we want for Quebec."

But pleasing the financiers was a subject very much on the minds of Lévesque and his government. After the City of Montreal was unsuccessful in trying to float a \$13-million bond issue in New York shortly after the PQ election, it became apparent that the government somehow will have to rebuild confidence in international investors if it is to raise the crucial needed for any

nomic development. Lévesque will try to come to grips with the issue when he addresses the highly influential Economic Club of New York January 25. At home, Lévesque has to reassure the Jewish community, businessmen and immigrants that their interests will be safeguarded. Business leaders, perhaps the most non-separatist sector in the province, are clearly worried by the climate of uncertainty created by the boycott.

The Jewish community appears to be the most intensely because, until recently, publicly expressed anti-Semitism was relatively common in Quebec, not so although there is little firm evidence of it, many Jews feel the sentiment is particularly strong among some PQ members.

Prime Minister Trudeau, discussing the referendum in a year-end interview, played down the importance of the outcome of a future referendum on separatism. But Serge Rhee, one of the two socialist Quebecers in the federal Liberal caucus, took a far more worried view of the future. He argued that the victory means the Liberals are losing touch with the Quebecers, the most alienated element in Quebec society. The intervention, however sincere and well-meaning, said Rhee, "is most embarrassing."

their links if we don't," (Confederation) went back with Trudeau. "The next year will provide some indicators of whether the damage is beyond repair." GRAHAM FRASER

THE MARITIMES

Mostly from bad to worse

"Hope is a pleasant acquaintance," wrote the Nova Scotia wit, Thomas Halberton, "but an unsafe friend." Citizens of Atlantic Canada are given to gloomy internments with recent events have given them something to grumble about; as 1977 opens, the area is permeated by brooding fears of economic collapse and isolation, the one foreboded by business figures, the other by the possible separation of Quebec.

The death of 23 people in a burning house near St. John's, Newfoundland, on Boxing Day not only shocked 196 out on a winter night, it spoke more poignantly than all the intimates ever uttered at a federal-provincial conference about the plight poor provinces face in trying to meet their social responsibilities. Nowhere but in Canada would freedom operating within tight rules of a provincial capital have to back their way through an inches of paid so to the water. What are urban areas not taken for granted in rich provinces, not in Newfoundland. An emergency cabinet meeting ordered a full judicial inquiry into the tragedy, it will doubtless produce recommendations for safer, more modern institutions but finding the money for even the most worthy cause won't be easy to a year that may be this region's blackest, economically in more than a decade. Prospects are so bleak it is unlikely any of the four provincial provinces will risk an election this year.

There are certainly about 100,000 jobless in the four provinces, a regional unemployment rate of 12% that in parts of Newfoundland, an industrial Cape Breton and western New Brunswick, a quarter or more of the population are unemployed, and with existing manufacturing concerns going bankrupt faster than new ones can be built and no new major projects in sight these statistics are unlikely to change soon. The bleak expectations are likely to erode morale of dispiriting depression.

And when it happens, Atlantic Canadians expect recovery to come from the south, merchants in "Trudeau's army," as the growing legions of the teen-pledged all provinces, expect to find jobs only if Army Career locations are left into the American economy. There are also hopes that the January 1 declaration of a 300-mile offshore fishing zone will entice stocks available to fishermen in eastern Canada.

Not surprisingly, the Quebec election has generated some parallel introspection here, although there is no parallel rush to join with the Americans, there is wide spread fear about the implications of a breakup of Confederation. For one thing, there is concern that Quebec's separation



Fisheries Canada officer William Gibney (left) and Armed Forces officer Howard Cole map out strategy in Halifax for enforcing the 200-mile limit on other fishing boats.

would affect the federal equalization program, which provides half of all government funding for the four provinces. Their jumpiness is likely to be reflected in the following election promises during 1977.

■ In Newfoundland, there will be renewed tension with Quebec over Labrador power. Newfoundlanders believe the French province has after the land hydro and mineral potential of Labrador and they are girding themselves for battle. This will also be a decision point for the Labrador Labrador Ltd. mill at Stephenville: the government must decide whether to abandon the four-year-old mill and cut at least \$45 million annually—or incorporate the province's entire wood-pulp program to make it economically viable. On the brighter side, a stepped-up offshore drilling program expected following three highly encouraging gas finds in the Labrador Sea, could grow Newfoundland's future as an important oil and gas producer. And for environmentalists, Jerry Brindwood is expected to join the fray for a full land-use study in the Labrador Ferry.

■ In New Scotia, concerns about energy and steel dominate the provincial outlook. Nova Scotia's having a possible 60% increase in electricity bills early in the new year, have been warned that costs will continue to climb into the 1980s, when additional sources—more oil and wood and power and tidal energy—are expected to reduce the need for expensive oil imports. On the steel front, the international consortium that has been studying a world-scale steel plant at Chatham Bay has apparently delayed a decision until late in 1977. If the go-ahead is blacked out, world markets improve, the provincial government must decide what to do about the aging Crown-owned Sydney Steel Corp. And if that issue is settled, there will remain the question of where to do about the proliferating spruce budworm. On the one side of this issue are the forest industries

calling for protection, on the other environmentalists decrying the damage spraying causes to other plants and wildlife.

■ In New Brunswick, the same policy-makers problem is a far less heated discussion with the same, so far, inconclusive results. But New Brunswick faces another threat to its environment this year—the proposed superport and oil refinery at Esqueret. More you off the provincial coast. The Port of Canada of New York has been trying to get approval for the project since April 1972 and would like to have the issue settled soon. Both the federal and provincial governments have objected, because super-tankers of up to 250,000 tons would have to go through Head Harbor Passage described by a marine expert as "indefinitely more dangerous" than, for example, is a narrow Strait of Juan de Fuca. The recent oil spill off New Brunswick has strengthened opposition to the Esqueret site, which a Canadian environmental study described as "overwhelmingly the worst" of 22 potential deepwater-port sites in eastern Canada.

■ In Prince Edward Island, because the people live close to the land, there is the other three provinces they seem to be scratching the economic storms better. The province's water and wind experiments will soon be underway, providing some renewal hope of assistance for drastically rising energy prices, and on the agricultural front, the McDonald's hamburger chain recently contracted to buy all its northeastern requirements for French fries from a no processor, C. M. McLean Limited. To celebrate, McDonald's gave away free dogs for a week.

If the general air of gloom gets too much for Atlantic Canadians, they can console themselves with the words of another Nova Scotia writer, Joseph Blunt, who noted, "You don't need a big field to raise a big turkey." Cold consolation, of course, for those who hate turkeys. LYNDON WATSON

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All the premier's men

René Lévesque is a known quantity, but what of the people around him? Among other things, they're bright, well-versed in government, and more fluently bilingual than the federalist ministers they replaced

By Graham Fraser

English Canadians tend to feel that they knew René Lévesque. They know the reputation, the ornate rhetoric, the self-deprecating shrug, the flashes of a wit, the hands that grip seats and mold the air, and the words, the torrents of words that are both one of these man's most serene and well-handled phrases of power and anger. Since 1960, we've followed him, outraged or fascinated, we've groined much of the love and anxiety of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, as he has in turn left the Liberal Party in 1967 as he formed the Parti Québécois a year later and now perhaps return from the political wilderness as Premier of Quebec.

But while Lévesque has been known to English Canada for years, often admired, if not always liked, the men around him have generally been mysterious to those outside Quebec. The result is the familiar clichéd phrase "Like René Lévesque but what about the men behind him?" These men are a key ingredient in Lévesque's electoral victory of November 15 which created the Liberalism from the 1930s as they walked in their 1972 victory in a general election of 20,000 seats from the English-speaking ridings of Montreal's West Island. In joining the 70 from a group of 70 to form the Parti Québécois Lévesque harvested the fruits of eight years work getting an idea from that represents the best elements of Quebec, under a central-left party of the mainstream of Quebec life, in which Lévesque is now comfortable and of which he is now the acknowledged leader.

These are political leaders who, to their own surprise, suddenly form a government that are often two immediate problems: the experience of the members newly elected, and the fact that, sometimes, the leader himself, René Lévesque, found neither of these problems. For not only has Lévesque worked closely with the major figures elected—12 of the 15 members of the party's executive are now in the legislature—but many of the men in the new cabinet have had extensive previous experience in government.

This is just one of the many ponded elements of Quebec's new government. For while it represents a linguistic break—a shift—by being the first Quebec government since Confederation com-

mitted to opening up of Canada—there has been an unusual element of continuity. Lévesque, of course, is a former first cabinet minister. Jean Lévesque's cabinet, 1960-1966 Liberal administration, Claude Morin, the new Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs and Premier Minister Jacques Parizeau have both served as senior cabinet members. At least half a dozen other members of Lévesque's new cabinet headed previous government experience.

Another position is the astonishing level of bilingualism in a government committed to the privacy of French, many more can even speak English fluently than in the cabinet of the current Liberal premier, Robert Bourassa. In addition to Lévesque whose English is finally colloquial, many of the other key ministers were educated in English-speaking universities and speak the language fluently, among them Education Minister Jacques-Yvan Morin, who studied at Cambridge and Harvard, and Jacques Parizeau who attended the London School of Economics. Robert Babin, the new House Leader, whose mother tongue is French but who has fathered children when he was a young child, and speaks English almost perfectly. Claude Morin studied at New York's Columbia University, then Levesque the Minister of Social Affairs in Parizeau's cabinet and Minister of State for Cultural Development. Camille Laroche in Bessie. Most other members of the cabinet are functionally bilingual.

Although it is a fairly qualified, unimpressive and attractive team that Lévesque assembled and, given the atmosphere of optimism and fear that the Bourassa Liberals had to create during the election campaign, there can be no question that the people of Quebec chose to vote for this winning government. But as the fledgling Lévesque government has been at power to point out, no one should be under any illusion about its intention: the government's goal is the independence of Quebec—nothing less.

Lévesque's style as premier in the first days of history inspired some who remembered his reputation for nothing but politeness with hands out, and functioning as a broker. For diplomats, tact and tactfulness characterized the formation of his cabinet. In fact, putting together his new government team may well have been an exercise

that Lévesque enjoyed. Back in 1969, Lévesque never would have been elected as being in government and was called by a highly respected lawyer, "You like administration, don't you?" Replied Lévesque: "Yes I do. I don't really know the technical aspects of any given project—but I really like getting a good team together and coordinating it so it can get the job done."

Accordingly, in the days following the election, Lévesque disappeared into the Eastern Townships where he rented a house in North Valley for himself. A few days later, he was joined by a group of men who were considered for discussion. The advice—now from the key element in the premier's office in Quebec City—were a group of three: Louis Bernier, who resigned as executive assistant to Claude Morin to intergovernmental affairs to work for the re-election, now the senior aide. His deputy is Michel Carpentier, 31, who once turned down a job with Ottawa's external affairs department to work for the re-election office. Until he was called by Lévesque's executive mind, and his personal campaign consultant. Serving as special adviser to lawyer Jean-Roch Boivin, a defeated re-candidate in 1970 who involved with Lévesque throughout the election campaign.

Encountered in North Valley, Lévesque and his team went to work. The result: a newly formed cabinet designed partly to give Lévesque a minimum of administrative skills, and at the same time to give appropriate weight to the interests in Quebec and the various ideological elements in the party. Thus, Rodrigue Tremblay, a pro-conservative, was given the industry portfolio, while more progressive members were given jobs in the social areas. Denis Laroche is in social affairs and Jacques Côté in labour.

Diplomacy and tact were also evident in the fact that every member who had been previously elected got a cabinet seat. One problem was solved in a way that still has observers speculating over who was from 1973 to 1978 the performance wing of the party was plagued with tensions between the leader of the opposition, Jacques-Yvan Morin, and the party house leader, Robert Babin. Lévesque had favoured Morin as opposition leader in 1971 and has now given him the, however, role

of vice-premier. Apparently educated as he was also from the demanding job of education minister, a highly profile position with the thankless task of dealing with the problem of language in the schools. However, unlike Babin, he was not included in the group considered to Lévesque, the cabinet premier's choice.

That constitutes the senior level in a two-tier cabinet, is composed of five ministers of state who will be in charge of steering cabinet ministers and coordinating policies that involve more than one ministry, plus the two principal figures in the cabinet staff, Jean Lévesque's chief

of staff, Claude Morin, and Jacques Parizeau. These three are the key men on Lévesque's team, the men closest to him, and the ones who will set the priorities of the new government while he seeks to lay the groundwork for independence.

Claude Morin

Back in September 1971 when Claude Morin quit his job as deputy minister of intergovernmental affairs under Robert Bourassa, he sent a message to his staff affirming his commitment to Quebec and declaring that "I am not leaving the job. I am staying myself." On his way south,

that he began work as minister of the department of education in 1971, he sent out a memorandum with a copy of the line not intended, saying: "This absence is now over. I have returned."

More than any other Quebec civil servant, Morin was a symbol of the province's growing biculturalism. He was in his dealings with Ottawa during the 1960s. Born in Montmagny, near Quebec City and educated at Laval and Columbia universities, Morin taught social sciences at Laval and in 1961, went south to a business school in New York City. In 1963, he was appointed deputy minister of education, provincial affairs and became involved in bargaining with Ottawa over everything from student loans and the Canada Pension Plan to social parks. Morin's skills were evident in 1964, when he was asked to lead a mission to Ottawa with Clark's son, Guy, a former aide to a federal minister. "I've been at bargaining sessions with Morin and it was hard to keep my temper." But in an advisory, Morin was greatly respected by federal negotiators—so much so that when the Lévesque government was defeated in 1966, Morin received a 2 a.m. midnight call from a federal minister who wanted to offer him a job.

That respect has not diminished with his return as a politician and minister. It was Claude Morin who made the opening remarks at the December finance ministers' conference in Ottawa, declaring bluntly that the goal of his government was "a new political order. That we take account of the need for economic interdependence led in the same time the mutual aspirations of Quebecers to be masters of their national destiny." "It was impressive," commented a federal minister who attended, "and you did it with style. I had the feeling I was hearing history."

After leaving the civil service in 1971, Morin returned to teaching full-time but he had also been a part-time teacher throughout his career in government and wrote two books about the years of negotiation between Quebec and Ottawa. He says now that it was the experience of always being and winning about those years that led him to the Parti Québécois, but only after discussing the details of economic agreements with the rest of Canada with Lévesque and noting that he (Morin) was "not a separatist in the absence of the word." He signed on with the pro-separatist and lost in the 1973 election and then after the overwhelming victory of the Liberals on the issue of separatism, drew up the referendum clause accepted by the party in 1975, which guaranteed that any future government would not declare independence before putting the issue to a referendum. This time, rue-

Joseph-Yvan Morin (now Lévesque's right hand), is, like said, slightly outside the power group. Bureaucratic leader, albeit both theory and figuratively, he has been known as a mediator, negotiator, and by self-proclamation, Lévesque's shadow minister.



The whisky a man saves for himself ...and his friends

It's a matter of taste.
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together 29 great, aged whiskies
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Parizeau (above) was the author of that Popper-Robertson budget that hurt the party in 1973, and the PQ is not entirely comfortable with him. Claude Morin (right) was the architect of the referendum idea that may have made the difference in '79

ing in L'Assommoir, a Quebec City suburb where he lives and where he had lost by only 171 votes three years before. Morin, discreetly dismissed Jean Manfield, the former federal cabinet minister and co-founder of Pierre Trudeau.

It can be argued that by providing a way for the PQ to campaign without raising on the issue of independence, Morin's offer ended the use made the November 13 run very possible. He also started approved credit courses in the party. As one member says: "I thought that once he got power, he might put us in so many stages towards independence that we'd never get there. But I'm attached. He's been one of the most rigorous on the point."

Indeed, shortly after he took office, Morin called in his senior staff and told them that the goal of the government was Quebec sovereignty. Those who felt that their constituents would not do so were told to go. But that should be about it, he said, and perhaps ask to be transferred to another department where the question would be less central.

Jacques Parizeau

In the fall of 1988 Jacques Parizeau had been invited to give a speech at Banff on Canadian federalism. He decided that he would take Canadian Pacific's transcontinental train and spend the two-day trip relaxing with his wife away from the telephone and writing his son: "When I left Windsor Station I was a federalist. When I arrived at Banff I was a separatist."

Not anyone blame The Canadian's long-termers in a fixed wine bar for his conversion. Parizeau insists that it was the process of thinking through the solutions between Quebec and Ottawa that led him to this conclusion. He decided that the powers that Quebec had won for itself during the 1970s had created a situation in which most of them being a separatist gov-



Parizeau (above) was the author of that Popper-Robertson budget that hurt the party in 1973, and the PQ is not entirely comfortable with him. Claude Morin (right) was the architect of the referendum idea that may have made the difference in '79

ernment and a private government, Quebec had two governments. "It was," he says, "as if we had a piece of paper from half way. Either you push it back together with which tape, or you keep on tearing."

Partly witty and proud, Parizeau was born in Montreal in 1930, the son of well-to-do parents (his father, an oilman, a little later). "Most of us are only two generations from being farmers," Parizeau boasts of having been a Government Services technician. Parizeau was educated in L'Assommoir, studied in Paris and earned his doctorate in the London School of Economics. He was greatly influenced by the French economist François Perroux, aggressive in his advocacy of economic development and an advocate of the development of "poles of growth."

(This theory, which argues for the grouping of government services in one or two regional centers to help depressed areas, was a source of tension between Ottawa and Quebec during the 1970s, with Quebec City arguing for a pole of growth approach rather than Ottawa's "disaggregated" policy.) Returning to Montreal in 1955, Parizeau began teaching at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales in Montreal, with which he has maintained a connection ever since, going on unpaid leave to be an economic adviser to Jean Lesage, a mentor for the Bank of Can-

ada, a member of various economic task forces—including the Porter Commission on the Federal Bank Act—and now as a politician and cabinet minister.

It was Parizeau who called out a study of the financial implications of establishing Quebec's hydroelectric companies in 1963, a plan that René Lévesque carried out in the same year. However, Parizeau's first forerunner was stuck in the bond syndicates—the stores under which Quebec governments always use the same bonds and mortgage loans to sell their bonds and securities. (In the case of the Quebec governments, it was the Bank of Montreal and A.E. Ames Ltd.) Later when the reform-minded Eric Kesteven, former president of the Montreal Stock Exchange, criticized the Lévesque government's revenue minister, he made the same point in Parizeau's name and said that the syndicate was wicked. Parizeau is a vocalist that Parizeau returned to the Lévesque government as an adviser and was largely responsible for the creation of the Comité de l'énergie, the Quebec Power Fund and made possible by Quebec's opting out of the Canadian Pension Plan in favor of its own, funded plan.

It has been a question since of Parizeau's economic thinking that the Quebec government should use all of the economic tools at its disposal. Then he has been a firm advocate of a buy-Quebec purchasing policy for the government and of other ways of saving Quebec's domestic assets in its government's portfolio. One idea that he threw out as a newspaper columnist four and a half years ago was that Quebec might sell shares in publicly owned Hydro-Québec in the stock market and use the money to create two financial "supermarkets," he wrote, "which would sell both milk and eggs."

During his first few weeks in office, Parizeau was immersed in the files of the finance department and made four to five private meetings with leaders in business and industry to clarify the government's vision. He was looking for his best job, and his greatest challenge, he said in an interview, will be to change Quebec's priorities without raising taxes.

Perhaps more than any other man close to Lévesque, Parizeau keeps in touch with English Canada over the years. He has visited Toronto regularly, has many friends in Ottawa, and once applied for a senior post with the Bank of Canada.

Though he is not unhappy today about the PQ's commitment to a referendum on independence, Parizeau is the past. He found the idea that a Parti Québécois government would have an immediate mandate to push for independence. "It was always struck by the fact that in 1986-87 a whole series of strong Canadian arguments for a referendum on Confederation," he says. "It was not a strictly refused. Twelve requests—always refused with the same argument: 'Parizeau has all the rights. It strikes me as paradoxical that to enter (Confederation) we wouldn't



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JAMAICA

have a referendum—and to leave we have to have one." Still, he is optimistic about the progress of the idea of independence in Quebec. "Do you remember the 1970 election slogan of the Parti Québécois? It was 'Yes'." This year, Bourassa's slogan was "not" (not approved). In 1970, "not" was better. In 1976, "not" was better."

For all of his pragmatism, Bourassa is under particular pressure now—not only because he is Quebec's minister in the present economy is an enormous challenge in any government, but also because of his record in the 1970s he will be watched closely and non-precisely from inside the party. He was the author of the 1975 dissolution. Logically, he had put in a solid record in Quebec, which Bourassa pushed to power during the 1975 election campaign, and was the successor for the deficit. More recently he was the chairman of the board of directors of *Le Jour*, the newspaper that followed him from a host of other party positions. "Le Jour" was founded in August 31, 1973, after Bourassa. "We were the election on November 15. You can rebound in politics."

Robert Burns

At 40, after a career as one of the leading parliamentarians in the Quebec National Assembly, and 10 years in the Quebec labor movement as a union lawyer, Robert Burns had been given the position and the infamy of a much younger man. Parliamentary leader since 1973, and now house leader, Burns required a reputation as a powerful debater and crusader against the socialists that dogged the Bourassa government. "He is a great parliamentary fighter," says a cabinet member indignantly. "The Liberals used to tremble when he came to the debate." Burns is a man of the point that Bourassa once publicly offered Burns a cabinet post in the hope of turning down the best. Besides being named house leader, Burns added Lévesque was made minister of the provincial ministry responsible for a number of the key provincial ministries.

Burns' dual appointments are a measure of his talent within the party—and of the way in which party politics are being reshaped. Over the last few years, disagreements and conflicts often divided between the party's parliamentary wing in Quebec City and the national office in Montreal, particularly when Claude Lévesque, a skilled mediator was defeated in 1973. In 1974, Lévesque was replaced by a more militant leader. These disputes led to a tense between Lévesque on the one hand, and Burns and Claude Charbon 30—the cabinet minister who is now Minister of Youth, Leisure and Sport—on the other. But in one party member point, Lévesque and Burns are not so far apart. Both are seen as pragmatic, and there were generally no conflictive content but rather over strategy. For instance, during the 1971 strike at the Montreal newspaper *La Presse*, the two were seen to march with the strikers. Lévesque didn't.



Burns' sharp of his reputation as a mediator, but he is nonetheless clearly quite comfortable in his role as Lévesque's right hand. During the election campaign, Lévesque, during a radio debate, refused to respond to Bourassa's challenge to "name someone" of government corruption. In looking to do so, says Burns, Lévesque "showed himself to be a statesman. A statesman shouldn't do that kind of backbiting. That should be done by himself. I consider myself one of those himself men."

Often identified as the leader of the PQ left, Burns shies away from the label—and indeed disputes that any kind of formal, left-right divide exists within the party. Solidly pragmatic and a convinced democratic socialist himself, Burns states that "there is no Wall in the Parti Québécois"—a reference to the Federal New Democratic Party's non-divided left-wing. "Wall" Burns' not all agree with Burns' attitude. "He is a hypocrite," says another labor movement activist who was elected as a co-member November 15 Bourassa's cabinet. André Larocque explains that what he has means "by saying that there is no Wall in that there is no structure, no separation of the left wing, no official nothing like that—not even any structure. Certainly there are some [party members] who are further to

the left than others. But the left in the PQ is not so much more in making the structure of the party democratic than in traditional left-wing programs. For example, Burns is not particularly fervent about nationalization. Burns is viewed as being on the left because he is very pro-union."

For all of these reasons, Lévesque's choice of Burns for house leader and to preside over parliamentary reform was a brilliant move. Burns is passionately interested in reforming the National Assembly and in setting up regulations to ensure clean party financing, the elimination of voting frauds, and the drafting of a new electoral law. Burns asks his post, "the Ministry of Democracy" and the issues closest to Burns' heart are especially important for a party preparing for a crucial referendum. Burns will draw up the referendum bill itself. In so doing, he will be Burns' job to research the legislative model for the new state and, in appointing him to the task, Lévesque "what Lévesque has done is put legislative power in the hands of the left."

In addition to Burns, Lévesque named four other ministers of state: Claude Lévesque (cultural development), Jacques Lévesque (planning), Bernard Landry (economic development) and Pierre Housh (education). In the past, ministers of state have been junior ministers with minor responsibilities. Now Lévesque has vastly upgraded the title by appointing all five state ministers to the cabinet. The cabinet four follow ministers of state have much in common. All have shared Lévesque's experience of political defeat and the sense of exile from Quebec City. All have worked closely with Lévesque on the PQ executive, and all have a relationship of mutual trust and respect with their leader. Lévesque didn't

Laurin, a 34-year-old white job black



What Charbon (above) was one of just a handful of opposition members, he was known to fight with Lévesque occasionally. Maréchal (right), on the other hand, is a long-time member of the party, as much as that some people like to see "Le Capitaine"

have been only an occasional bit of gray in an otherwise anti-police politician with a reputation for sinking up all in his reformism. Elected to the National Assembly in 1970, he served as the 1974 parliamentary leader until 1975. During his time in the house, a Liberal cabinet minister once came up to him and said, "Claude Lévesque is going to win the Assembly. You're intelligent, calm, rational. But then, when I read what you've said in the newspaper—my God, you're an awful socialist."

Laurin explains that he became a socialist because of his experience with Canadian medical groups and associations in which, over the years, he felt less and less as though he belonged. "I wasn't in the club," he says. More recently, he had begun to feel too many Quebecers suffered from a chronic sense of insecurity and lack of self-confidence to a group, while those who had opted for separatism already felt their more self-confident. In his cabinet post, Lévesque will be responsible for fall 72—the controversial language act introduced by the Bourassa government in 1974. Laurin says that the emphasis of the left under the PQ will switch from education to making French the language of work in Quebec.

With this task, he will need all his pragmatic skills of calm reassurance for he will be dealing with the less than highly charged emotional issue facing the government. Jacques Lévesque is the guest and news among the members of the new cabinet as to presenting him. Lévesque went out of his way to refer to his modesty, party members stress the care and self-consciousness he showed in accepting the party. A 30-year-old accountant, Lévesque might be coming and advancing into the African national Rwanda before going to the University of Montreal as an administrator. As minister of state for planning, he will be in



charge of coordinating land use planning and environmental questions in the ministries of the environment, natural resources and agriculture. Landry, 39, is a former University of Montreal student leader who helped to found L'Union Générale des Étudiants du Québec—an organization that was formed after Quebec University students broke away from the Canadian Union of Students during the 1960s. He went on to join Lévesque's personal staff while Lévesque was a member under Larocque, then spent several years working as the provincial government before resigning to join the Parti Québécois and practice law. Personalized outgoing, Landry seems to be interested in improving contacts with the English community, both in Quebec and outside. "In Quebec," he says, "the English community has always been hostile to front men. I'm hoping we can have much better contacts with the English community and all the minorities in Quebec."

Perhaps the cabinet member closest to Lévesque is Pierre Maréchal. Three years younger than Landry, he had a similar career as a campus leader and went to work as an aide to Liberal Education Minister Paul Gernon-Lupac after finishing his law studies in Laval. Later, he worked as a Quebec civil servant, spent two years studying in Europe, and eventually went to

work as the lawyer for a Quebec insurance company. He successfully represented Quebec parents against the municipalities of the school boards, working vigorously with an aide of Ralph Nader. Though a nationalist, because of the rage of the nation of favoritism, Maréchal, because of his close friendship with Lévesque, is eagerly referred to as "the Dauphin."

Multi-talented and picked with talent though the cabinet may be, its members nonetheless all stand in the shade of a single overriding presence—that of Lévesque himself. The minister's feelings toward his range from first status to a respect bordering on awe. "We are deeply aware of Lévesque's initiative approach to politics and government. 'What happened next?' says André Larocque. "It is that he has kept his attachment to the party. The always defined Lévesque as a guy with a humor of all political parties, who doesn't like them at all. He doesn't like party structures, organizations that stand of things. When he has a good idea—that's it, he doesn't want it going off to a committee for a report, where people can dominate him on it." During the past few years, says Larocque, "we watched him and felt he doesn't look happy in the party." He looked serious, sure. Now it's the reverse. "I've never seen him so relaxed as he is at ease with party politics."

"For me, he personifies Quebec," says Pierre Maréchal. "He is from the Gaspé but at the same time an extraordinarily urban person. He is intelligent, he reads an incredible amount—but he has to find something to do in his time. This is the key for me. I've heard him many many times in meetings listening to a proposal and finally saying 'it sounds good but I don't do it.'"

So far Lévesque's mixture of nationality and Quebec nationalism has together an impressive and complex character that is riding high on a post-election wave of excitement and popularity. But as the country watches how the cabinet performs, so will the PQ—particularly the elected members who were overlooked by Lévesque, whose he made his cabinet choices. As one observer reflected, looking at the possibility of division in the government's ranks. "The real issues will not be ideological or ideological outgroups, but rather the relationship between the members and the debate is who they should have been chosen against. The ministers are going to be watched very closely."

The results continue to make for exciting government, but the very excitement and dynamism of the new Quebec administration poses a dilemma for English Canadians and for Quebec federalists. The Bourassa government had become too high a price to pay for the status quo, and few would be surprised if the new government, if the new government, if without harming Quebec, or to work it well without the competing force of its ultimate goal coming closer.

Berger of the North

He was sent to find out what a pipeline would do to the Mackenzie Valley and its people. In the process, he became a folk hero and a perceived 'savior'—but can he live up to it?

In the cold, snowing darkness of a late Ottawa afternoon, he is trying to get a taxi. One glides up, but as he opens the door to get in, three people push by him and into the warmth. A woman in the city and an official failure emerge at getting into a taxi-hour crowd, his hands look, this rapidly asks the driver to wait. Another cab around "for Judge Berger." Out of the young men who rolled him of his taxi leaves forward from the back seat, exclaims "You're Judge Tom Berger?" and beckons him in, magnanimously offering to share the cab. Delighted to have encountered Berger, he gives it to the judge. "You realize that you are almost a folk hero." Then the two rubber-tired admirer delivers a warning that Tom Berger will remember weeks later and repeat with a smile. "But you better watch out, Canadians always run on their folk heroes."

It might be satisfying to end the story here, with some suitable music (Berthoff's Fifty) playing in the background. But, as it happens, Tom Berger did not disappear into the moody night with sounds of disaster looming over him. Instead, as he often says, he simply had the last word. "Give me no more minutes," he told the *Waikar*. "And even if you turn on me remember that I may remember myself and come back to haunt you."

Such is the stuff of which 55-year-old national consciousness are made. Tom Berger's. Only someone who has crowded newspaper magazines, television news and even the neighborhood bookstore for the past two years would fail to have been confronted with an image of the man, hands in pockets, single strands emerged in a soft orange shuffling along in a native dress dance in far off Fort Franklin, or suitably put rapped, singing his gravel from Calgary to Halifax, wearing secret documents (like a reluctant civil servant), delivering sensible speeches to interested academics or doing a turn on Peter Gouzenko's late night television talk show.

And if it is odd to realize that this ubiquitous presence is the Hon. Mr. Justice Berger, the masterful defendant of not-dissatisfied figure who formerly served out justice as a member of the British Columbia Supreme Court, it is even more startling that he has been outspaced into our consciousness as the head of a one-man royal commission in early 1980 past



An intense Berger presiding (above) and a less formal Berger with wife Beverly (facing page); too hot not to read down?

days, despite the importance of whatever subject was being considered, seemed to be an automatic signal for a collective yawn. But Berger's one-man commission, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, has been to ordinary consciousness, because of its depth, its scope, its impact, it has been a happening.

Not again what were then perceived as the stark realities of the energy crisis, and the loosey question of how Canada would satisfy its energy demands and those of its hungry neighbor, the not-so-friendly giant, by the year 2000. Berger's findings were laid off in March 1985 to reach the North. It was charged with assessing what the social, environmental and economic impact would be on the Mackenzie Valley of a proposed pipeline that would find natural gas from North America's Arctic stockpiles to hungry southern markets. Two scenarios—Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Ltd. and Footbridge Pipe Lines Ltd.—had made their billion-dollar bids.

"The proposal by Arctic Gas is a variation of 20 lines, probably over 100 miles long, in the Arctic region. The proposal by Footbridge is a variation of 20 lines, probably over 100 miles long, in the Arctic region. The proposal by Arctic Gas is a variation of 20 lines, probably over 100 miles long, in the Arctic region. The proposal by Footbridge is a variation of 20 lines, probably over 100 miles long, in the Arctic region."

By Judith Timson

It was a polar game in which the stakes were awesome. While in Ottawa the National Energy Board convened hearings that will ultimately decide the yes or no of building a pipeline, Berger's inquiry began to amass, for the first time, all manner of information: intimate environmental evidence indicating the possible devastating effect a pipeline would have on the fragile Arctic ecology; thousands of pages of technical evidence supporting the pipeline companies' claim that more good than harm would befall the North if a pipeline were built; and most important of all, what Berger himself described as "the voice of the frontier," a predominantly native, heard in remote Northern communities. They told the judge boldly through interpreters, how life used to be, how immeasurably important the land is to their peoples, how frightened they are of "progress" of having to cope with any more of the changes demanded by an influx of white southerners. Journalist Martin O'Malley, in his book *The First and Last* detailing the community hearing segment of the inquiry (which, by dogged, onerous and on occasion, ordinary modes of travel, Berger and his staff descended upon 34 remote northern communities to hear evidence in tiny meeting halls, and sometimes, by riverboat) has presented a gut-wrenching and history of the North. It is a region with sad, desolate towns of an age-old way of life being ravaged by the 20th century. "Roaming, fighting families going down the drain, the strange new diseases coming on the heels of a burgeoning wage economy," O'Malley writes. "More traffic, more barges on the river, more explorers, exploiters and bureaucrats."

While this tapestry of past, present, and future fears was being woven the drive for settlement of land claims by the Northwest Territories and Yukon Indian (Yukon) and Métis came more sharply into focus. Fanned by the Berger inquiry, the native issues grew louder with one clear and many confusing demands. The clear one was unequivocal: the demands of the Northwest Territories Indians, who have laid claim to 450,000 square miles of the Mackenzie Valley, must be settled before the pipeline project can even be considered.

It is all so monumental and like the North itself so unwieldy. As a single con-



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IT'S GOING TO WORK FOR YOUR COMMUNITY.

own political game by making himself so visible that his report will have to be reckoned with.

And yet there also the possibility that as a consequence public expectations in a large, free society will be raised. For the fundamental Canadian question that Berger has an mandate to recommend whether or not a pipeline should be built, but only to draw its impact, and to recommend the conditions under which it should be built. This is a far greater challenge than to be almost a sure thing that a pipeline would be built. Now, after the coming of Berger, it is generally a 50-50 chance. Meanwhile, in an 800-page report, Berger will put his own conclusions on the record, adding to the long list of studies that have been prepared if pipeline construction begins before there is a settlement.

One of the lawyers on the Berger inquiry staff has noted that "we'd be better off if [the Berger] report even went the final route. In other words, that the inquiry has already accomplished what a dry-rival commission report never could. Why complicate matters further? But Berger, perhaps keeping all those high-priced consultants in mind, has to say "There are a lot of books that have been written about the North, a lot more will be written to believe that the things they've said will be weighed in the balance. I intend to weigh them in the balance. I make no apologies about that and moreover I fully expect the government of Canada to take that thing I say this account."

Berger's standing now in his Vancouver office, still sharing out his swift four-outdoor afternoon that were not there two years ago, that he began his northern work, is that he is pondering the problem of being perceived as a winner. There's much to be said, and many, but false, statements, he will say. "I am not the savior of the North and I don't think anyone who thinks about it can take that idea very seriously." He says he is read Indian leader George Erasmus' testimony before him in last last summer when Erasmus declared "Some people have said that you are our savior, and in fact that is the key to the history of the Decade, but I think that you are not really our savior. It is only we the Dene that we guarantee our future. You have been with us for over 20 years now. I think you have entered the Dene nation at a crucial time, at a time when we have experienced colonization for over 20 years and have begun to realize the land of future we want. The inquiry has been a process by which we have been questioning our selves."

Later on Erasmus will eloquently explain the problem of the "misdefinition of judge Berger." It seems that it is the white folks who keep creating heroes demanding that they reveal "The way the north and the 'What keeps happening' sometimes Erasmus is that northern people are

never naive. The colonial mentality encourages an emotional kind of relationship to a certain dependency. Because Berger is a judge that emotional sense is heightened." After years of injustice there seems to be a feeling that "that man will do justice." That kind of dependency says Erasmus is exactly what native leaders are working to change.

Back in Vancouver, Berger picks up the thread. The wonders of his inquiry unfolded through the media. The media, he says, and hence the Canadian public, listened by the North to begin with "heard the real concerns of real people and they were suddenly excited. This much more engaging to hear the life story of the Dene, and the first, is to tell the story that was so beautiful it was poetry, that to be subjected to the social reality involved in the debate about the House of Commons. "All that stuff was and is a phenomenal" observes Berger. The evidence heard by his inquiry was not "And I'm the guy sitting there listening. That the focus was on him, Berger's sympathy" would have been put to anyone sitting there.

You will not hear Tom Berger discuss at any length what the process has done to him, although that is a fascinating question. On this matter, and on many others, the judge is still humble. There are certain boundaries that you do not cross. This



Berger (see left) with an Indian. Several men and one woman are sitting on the floor, some are looking at documents, while others are engaged in conversation.

is not quite that he is frightened of going his own way, only that his particular kind of anxiety provides it. One of the few who has made it through these hearings is a Vancouver lawyer named John Linton, an old friend, law partner and political enemy. He reports back, almost with a sense of wonder, that "I have seen the inside of Tom Berger and it is really very lovely." And yet Linton still alludes to Berger's earlier cynicism, now somewhat abated, "he says, and the fact that Berger has few 'really close friends.' That kind of anxiety, along with the sense of detachment he has had all his life, makes some people nervous. If Tom Berger is anything, he is not a Vancouver lawyer." He is a man of all his own resources.

"If they had been coming about for the perfect job for Tom Berger, they could not have come up with a better one than this," says Tom Berger. And perhaps that is why he talks about having my eye come from the happy conclusion that he is a man who appreciates his responsibility. Berger says it is willing to do it all again, maybe in five years "and I'll even give you the subject." It seems that he would like to lead a commission on the process of aging in Canada, says he. We have a lot to learn from that, he says, that the native society does not. As he discovered during his northern segment "they are not ashamed of old age. It is accepted for the wisdom it brings."

In the Kalamituk Room during the last week of the inquiry there were two confounding moods. One was relief that after 20 months it was finally over. The relief showed in Berger, he markedly did the walking up and heading home to Vancouver, which he could temper the task of waiting, his report with the pleasures of west coast living—a little house in the morning, a coffee along the beach, a chance to see family and friends. The other mood in the room was one of tension, a tension that had existed throughout the hearings. After all, nothing less than the future of the North was hanging, along with a chance to make a long-standing deal with the region's native people.

These were the days when we were glad to see Berger go, including David Seale, a white member of the Northwest Territories Council who viewed the inquiry from the beginning with suspicion and distrust. It was true, he agreed Seale, for Berger to leave and "take his victory, money, crowd of supporters, and his Georges Erasmus, answer to further test the ability of the Dene to stand on their own feet, agreed that it was "a good thing he [Berger] is leaving." Berger, not without these confusions, remained all in his own and outside way. "There was no consensus when we began and there is no consensus today. That, precisely all it is in on that day in November, he declared that "the inquiry was not adjusted. You will be hearing from me." And now, the next stage we hear may be that of expectations shattering.

Preview

The World

If Jimmy Carter proves to be a man of his word, he's got problems



In a cluttered red office just off Peachtree Street in Atlanta, Georgia, two of Jimmy Carter's bodyguards are prowling through the several of every speech and press conference the President elect has given over the past two years. They are looking for protesters—and it's a formidable task. There are millions of words, scores of statements, weeks of tape recordings. He used a lot.

But what is more significant is that Carter is making himself serious and plans to deliver on all that rhetoric: living peace and promoting whatever makes a major television address or during an impromptu meeting at home and from a report is being looked on a long and, so far, secret list. During the next four years of power, President Carter will try to make good on everything he said. In that with his age "I'll never sell a ke" jargon, he says he regrets nothing, neither anything and will work to push his promises through the tangled by-responsibility he deplores and is committed to reform.

If he is serious, Carter is about to find himself plunged into a maelstrom, wading through a morass of ambivalence and sometimes contradictory promises and programs. It is far from a pledged to "cut the federal deficit from today's \$19 billion to \$4 billion within the year, that he must find about \$1.5 billion more jobs almost immediately.

• Stimulate the lagging economy by cutting taxes and promoting business with a badly underbought

- Restore order through a voluntary program of wage and price controls
- Reorganize the federal government, cut red tape and slash down the civil service
- Balance the federal budget by 1980 while not forgetting his tax cut promise
- Buy new weaponry for the armed forces while not forgetting that he is pledged to slash defense spending
- Provide financial aid for America's crumbling cities and launch gradually a national health insurance scheme while not forgetting any of the above
- Direct the environment, while promoting business to exert heavily on environmental sensitive energy projects

The can bring it off, his next task will be to walk across the Shenandoah River bridge.

In fact, Carter's list of commitments on the domestic front is so long that diplomatic observers in Washington are worried that attention to the rest of the world may suffer while the President struggles to push his programs through a squabbling Congress and pass a reduction in bureaucracy. And even the most optimistic Democrats are admitting, in private, that their new boss appears to have bitten off more than he can chew.

For the first time in eight years, Congress and the White House are consoled by the same party, but even so the traditional honeymoon windowed all away. Presidents are likely to end in a series of spins as Carter tries to engineer his miracle. Commerce is now more powerful than it has

been for decades. In the aftermath of a major recession and a period of central control, a degree of independent control over policy-making, and individual members for the chance to put their own stamp on new laws. There will be no ready approval for Carter's new policies.

And when these domestic battles begin, Carter may be grateful that he kept his last-in-policy vow: "I'll be the ground running." He says of his January 20 inauguration, and that is comforting for Americans to know, what they don't know yet, however, is that what direction he will be running, or what burdens he will be carrying with him. The list of possibilities on the foreign front is almost endless.

To begin with, a new Strategic Arms Limitation agreement must be negotiated with Moscow immediately. Then there is the projected international economic summit, scheduled in the next few months, to deal with the problems of the "rock area of Europe"—Britain and Italy. There there is the Middle East where warring people could erupt into war at any moment. Carter has said that if he finally withdraws American troops in South Korea—that as he does so, he must stay alert for a possible new invasion from North Korea. In Europe there is the possibility of Soviet intervention in Yugoslavia, should the ruling President Tito die, which would upset the European power balance and throw the United States into the middle of a new international crisis. Joined to that complex problem are new developments in the Soviet Union, where Communist Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev has been the subject of an interior campaign of glorification, while anything observers have seen since the days of Joseph Stalin. On the southern horizon, Brezhnev received his second Nobel Peace Prize from the Soviet Union and his fifth Order of Lenin. The prospect of such prestige heaped on one Soviet statesman makes his American counterparts uneasy.

Carter does not of course face all these problems alone. He has a healthy new cabinet, a new White House staff and Vice-President Walter Mondale—who is been appointed chief of staff—to help him. The outgoing and able Meadeville will appear only have more power and responsibility than any of his predecessors, in particular he will be the critical link of seeing to it that Presidential decisions are carried out by the departments and agencies. But in the long run, it will be Carter's decision to meet or evade his long list of promises and commitments. A long-winded individual



Auschwitz 1945? No, Mozambique 1978? Rhodesian border troops wiped out what they called a "guerrilla camp," but what was almost certainly a refugee village

when they start shooting and kicking bombs—as they rarely will—that will be pressure enough [to force change]."

In Rhodesia however the outlook is uniformly grim. Battered by guerrilla forces from neighboring Zambia and Mozambique, Prime Minister Ian Smith and his government are digging in for what amounts to a desperate last stand. Smith has officials, black outposts from Rhodesia and Jewish negotiators meet but last year's Geneva bid to do so were all fruitless. And even as nationalist leaders such as Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo and Bishop Abel Muzorewa talked to their British and white Rhodesian counterparts about the merits of a Lancaster plan for a transitional government made up of both blacks and whites, guerrillas in Mozambique go on to step up the war regardless of any compromise.

In the beginning of this year, with more than 1,000 people killed during fighting between a 1,000-man black outcast force and leaders were faced with a grim choice: whether to continue searching for a peaceful settlement and risk losing the initiative to radicals who want to force a change immediately or to throw their weight behind the militants and retain at least some of their influence. Observers believed there was little doubt they would opt for the latter. The green flag strategy for the next year is likely to centre on winning the support of

the most influential section of the black population, both by coercion and persuasion. They particularly seek the backing of blacks who make up 60% of the Rhodesian armed forces and 75% of the police force. Commented a Canadian diplomat who has long been a student of African affairs: "The most explosive area in the world in 1977 is going to be Rhodesia. I don't think you'll see any of the big powers getting directly involved, nor do I think it will be the case for a complete blow-up in South Africa, but you may see one of the bloodiest showdowns in the mid-20th century as a result of this crisis." **BORIS HENRIC**

THE FAR EAST

The great lunch forward

Last spring Tsing Tiao-nao-ping was premier of China, and no odds-on favorite at least to most Western observers clamoring to replace Chairman Mao. But then, in one of those mysterious, jargon-filled transitions for which China is so well-known, Tiao was gone and the press and wall poster makers rushed to a consensus of his death toward him.

A few weeks ago, however, the wilderness stopped, which likely signals a return to grace—and power—for Tiao sometime in the early part of this year. While it's almost impossible to unravel the current political fabric of China, it is likely that 1977

will bring a shift to the right (Peking was) and it will end a long-up in modernization and industrialization—something Tiao is known to advocate. There is further evidence for this shift in the continued attacks on the "Gang of Four" by current Chairman Hua Guofeng, a "moderate," and by the official Communist Party press. The Gang, led by Mao's widow Cheng Ching, has been branded with every social epithet from "capitalist-roaders" to radicals, but it would seem that its major crime was pushing ideological purity at a time, following the death of Mao, when each decade was no longer considered appropriate, especially by the military.

And Hua may need the military in the months ahead if he sticks with his year-end promise to further purge the party of radicals (the Gang's allies) and so stiffen the line—which has already reached riot and killing proportions in some parts of the country. In any case, updating China's defunct constitution, a generation behind the other superpowers, via Hua's ally, along with similar updating of science, agriculture and industry. And that's where Tiao may come in. He is reportedly already back in Peking from his "work" in Canton and there's some speculation that if Hua falters in any way, Tiao may become more than just a helper in the newest leap forward, he could become Chairman himself. All in all, the external situation in China is rocky. The deaths of Mao and Chen Biao in 1976 have left a vacuum which Hua has yet to come close to filling.

While Hua's purging radicals the newly named Vietnamese Communist Party is embarking upon a New Year's housecleaning of its own, not radicals but crooks in South Vietnam are being hit for what was South Vietnam before the Communist victory 15 months ago. These are "corrupt and degenerate elements" in the words of party secretary-general Li Du-an, which "must be expelled—those who have lost their revolutionary consciousness" who will "betray the party for their own selfish interests and their positions to intimidate the masses." etc. The real problem, according to refugees arriving in Thailand from Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon) is that the new government is not taking any notice of those who preceded them in the old regime.

That aside, Li Du-an has his own Five Year Plan for modernization of the Vietnamese economy away from a society that now performs 80% of its work manually. "They said they would let us know when a diplomat commented, "and they did." Now they say that within two decades they intend to build a strong and prosperous socialist country, there is nothing to suggest they work. "One thing that isn't likely in 1977," respondents thought and that was "peace." The Americans have dragged their feet, and there was little in the Carter foreign policy position to radiate the dragging would stop this year, or even this decade.

Preview

Sports

Will Gerry Cheevers become the first goalie to win the Kentucky Derby?



Royal Slit could his out-number threat, hockey, if opponent, makes all things possible

If Royal Slit were the 10th annual running of the Kentucky Derby on Saturday May 7, the horse's owner may be the most notable absentee from the trophy presentation. Gerald Michael Cheevers, owner of the sturdy champion colt, expects to have an important business engagement elsewhere on that joyous day. As the pre-eminent goalkeeper for the team's Boston Bruins, Cheevers is confident his team will be involved in the Stanley Cup playoffs. "Definitely, I won't go to Kentucky if we're still in the playoffs," Cheevers said last month. "My job is to win this hockey team. If it hadn't been for hockey, I wouldn't own Royal Slit."

Though Cheevers will be absent, Royal Slit, a rugged colt of proven durability, sports a public record in the marketplace that typically elicits promising throughout. The young owner of all North American two-year-olds this past season, Royal Slit collected profits of \$308,700, winning six of his 10 starts. His record included such major races as the Mayflower Stakes, the Heritage Stakes at Keeneland, the Toronto Futurity (the Laurel Futurity) and the Rasmussen Stakes at Aqueduct in New York. Nevertheless, when the Eclipse Award for America's outstanding two-year-old was announced last month, Royal Slit was

third behind Seattle Slew and Run Druce. But New York's is the "Big Apple" of American racing and some Eclipse voters may have been in person by the fact that Seattle Slew was celebrated in his brief career of three races—all at New York's Race Day Run, for his part, had beaten Royal Slit in their only meeting—the Arlington Washington Futurity (Royal Slit finished second). However, that fantasy was ended at only six and one-half furlongs and Royal Slit proved later that considerably longer distances are his forte.

It was a question mark against Royal Slit's breeding that enabled Cheevers to get him for \$30,000 at a Kentucky breeding sale in 1975. He was sired by Rags Babel, a very young stallion whose chief credential was that he, in turn, was a son of Bold Ruler, the mighty progenitor of champion thoroughbreds. But it was the female line in Royal Slit's pedigree that appealed to Cheevers. The dam was Cox O'Leary, whose breeding went back to foundation blood of E. P. Taylor's bloodstock empire in Canada. Cheevers studied Royal Slit's pedigree in the ashoke table catalogue, but didn't even go to Kentucky—he instructed his trainer, John "Black" Lottman Jr. to take a good look at the colt before he was bid into the tag. Lottman liked him—and

bid successfully. Since Royal Slit has already earned more than 15 times his purchase price, he may prove to be one of the most satisfying "bangbuds" in the history of the thoroughbred industry.

Luck? Unquestionably. Luck is an all-important element of the racing game. It may help Cheevers, who claimed his first size bonus for \$7,500 less than seven years ago, become only the fourth Canadian ever to own a Kentucky Derby winner.

Cheevers became "hooked" on racing after his St. Michael's College promotion won the 1961 Memorial Cup. At Fort Erie meetings—30 miles from his St. Catharines home—Cheevers sold out entire tickets, and played around for one of the teams in the Ontario Jockey Club's football league. Now, he owns three such 30 horses, including bloodstock and their progeny. "Apart from Royal Slit, they have a total book value of more than one million dollars," he says proudly.

Despite his success, Cheevers is a blithe sport who declines to take himself too seriously. He admits a very, self-deprecating sense of wit. For instance, after a World Hockey Association's Brian Kilpatrick was defeated by the Soviet Union, the Russians will report that Cheevers was the best Canadian professional goalie they ever had faced. Appended of the anecdote, Cheevers and his family. "No wonder they were so complimentary. They scored more goals against me than on any other Canadian goalie." And there was that night when Cheevers was in the state as the Montreal Canadiens slaughtered the hapless Bruins 10-3. Hey Cheevers, Bruins' general manager, struck upon the driving room, gauding the state of his big picture between his teeth. He glowered at the press-gang Cheevers and asked, in disgust: "What did that happen out there tonight? Did you get drunk? Did you get slowly over Cheevers' head? He looked up at Brian and intoned solemnly:

"Roses are red, violets are blue. They scored 10, we scored two!" Come the first Saturday in May, the only race that cannot be accidentally dropped around Royal Slit's printed card. "We're definitely planning to go to the Derby," says Cheevers. "Anyhow, I'm a confident, only sort of guy. If we don't get to the Derby with this horse, I feel certain we'll go home another year." **ALAN ARONSON**

The three other colts in this catalogue of horses who were sired by Rags Babel in 1951: E. P. Taylor's Damron, later sold to Northern Illinois; and the two sons of Rags Babel, who were sold to Northern Illinois.

This year has been called on account of absurdity. Rain checks will not be honored

Sports column by John Robertson

Failure to link in the sports world in 1977: Mayor David Crombie of Toronto, wearing a new pair of elevator shoes—turning a size pair of blaggy pants on a field of stairs—dove himself up to his five-foot-five and announced in a March press conference that his city had made a deal with Mayor Jean Drapeau of Montreal to purchase a billion dollars worth of Olympic sports facilities for just \$250 million, the secret of the Olympic debt that Montreal has been unable to pay.

And wheezy of joy from Toronto sports writers, Crombie said: "I made the deal with Drapeau just outside Montreal



Robbie: making it all look so hard

City Hall. He was sitting on a secret corner in a multi-story overcoat, with a tin cup in one hand and secret pants in the other. His cap came off over. But it's the pants that weren't moving. The old grey mayor and I what he said to be. It's a bank-ruptcy sale. If you consider the stadium, the village, the velodrome and the swimming pool, Toronto will have the finest sports facilities in the world.

"But where in Toronto are you going to house them and pay off how will you move them here?" asked a reporter.

"Move them to Toronto?" frowned Crombie. "Who said anything about moving them?"

"You mean?" queried the reporter.

"The Argos and Bluejays will play all their home games in Montreal!"

"Of course," said Crombie. "That was the most serious part of the deal."

Real Lévesque, self-proclaimed grandson of Quebec, announced at a press conference that, if Charles Bronfman's Montreal Expos of the National Baseball League dared to dislocate the new Toronto-based Montreal Olympic Stadium, with the new team in baseball, the President René Lévesque would move all his holdings out of Quebec and live in exile on a postage stamp in Labrador.

"But you can't grow potatoes in Labrador," exclaimed an exasperated reporter from Quebec's most useful daily, *Le Petit* du Petit Gou.

"They are called," and Lévesque, "but few are loose."

"But Mr. Majesty Elizabeth II was supposed to throw out the first spitball at Bronfman's home opener," exclaimed a reporter from Quebec's *Le Citoyen*.

"If you think," and Lévesque, "that the Republic of Quebec is going to miss not having a queen around here, then you haven't walked down St. Catherine Street lately. Dr. Maroun of Culture took one look at the state of Quebec and immediately saw a propitious comic record."

We have the best hockey team in the world, but more than half of them are anglophones, scotchphones, and sylphonians. We have the worst baseball team in the world and a lot of many Quebecers are in the U.S. National League's catching team. If that isn't bad enough, we have the Alouettes who are red, white and Mar—and that's without clothes on—and their best player, Johnny Rodgers, who leads the league in scoring is a catcher of routine puns.



Catell: who, how or where, who cares?

Argo coach Leo Catell announced in April that he had signed a series of new contracts to coach every Canadian football league to coach Montreal in 1977. "Actually we will and I am going to coach for myself," and Leo "We also have radio rights in copyright, and I do the broadcast from the stadium. Ron Jackson will do color. Colin has gone. And I plan to retire a lot. I may not win the Grey Cup, but with eight votes out of nine I'll be a shoe-in for coach of the year."

Rogge Jackson, who typifies the new breed of major league baseball players whose motto is "Fu Manchu, but a lotta mean sense!"—exchanged his Yankee passkey for Don Judd's today after

Canadian customs officials at Toronto International Airport found a kilo of marijuana from his luggage. It was a coasting high for Jackson, who came out smoking high



Jackson: re-asking in the airport

more than an ounce in Montreal last November. Said Yankee manager Billy Martin: "I've heard of players getting up for a game but this is a revelation."

Mr. president Clarence Campbell announced the formation of a new inter-confessional hockey league which will include teams from Canada, the United



Campbell: tomorrow... the world

States, Russia, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Uganda, Upper Volta, Chad and Jersey. Told there was no such country as Jersey, Campbell said: "I know that but we had to give him a free franchise to allow five setting up day free shops in the eight other countries. There will be fifty shops with a difference. Where else can you buy a day free canoe sector in \$15 million off? We're arranging our financing through Lockheed."

Asked where the new teams in Uganda, Upper Volta, Chad and Jersey would get their players, Campbell said: "All I know is that Al England says the Israeli commandos are willing to shift teams to anywhere subject to 34-hour recall."

Happy New Year

Preview Business

No room for the boom to zoom through an uncertain 1977

The Canadian economy is clearly raising out of storm. Economists tend to treat questions about their forecasts for 1977 with the resigned patience of adults at tempting conspiracy circles in noisy children's birthday parties. "It's a numbers game," they protest warmly, and in fact the variables are virtually infinite. But the numbers currently are looking sharply worse. The prebombs of the Conference Board of Canada, a respected if somewhat private forecasting unit, overshadowed the more cheerful long-term view of the semi-official Economic Council which both were issued in late December, partly because the Conference Board was using more recent data. (The box for other forecasts.) The differences are significant: If unemployment averages 7.9% as the Conference Board predicts, as peak and its reported impact could be much higher. Reversing the report, Robert Rowat de Coteau, the board's president, spoke drily of the danger of "an shortage of the current economic recovery such as occurred in the early 1960s."

Figures for the third quarter of 1976, released in late November, show, for example, that business investment (apart from residential construction) fell at the equivalent of an annual rate of 22.5%. "Canada has little hope (in 1977) of achieving a rate of economic growth close to its long-term average of 4.6% to 5%," says John Maxwell, a senior economist of the C.D. Howe Research Institute. "The momentum is simply not there."

There is a particularly ominous development for the federal government. It's generally accepted that Gross National Product growth of at least 4% is the minimum required to employ each year's new entrants to the labor force. Below that anti-inflationary will rise.

But looked at another way—economies can always be looked at another way—Ottawa is proclaiming itself encouraged. Whether because of the Anti-Inflation Board, the slow-down in world and domestic demand or the fortunate decline in food prices, inflation is gradually being wrung out of the system. The Consumer Price Index was up only 5.9% from November, 1975, to November, 1976, compared with 10.4% for the previous 12 months, and other indicators show similar abatement. Since Canadian wages are rising 12% to 20% higher than similar costs in the United States, this trend could signal the beginning of a return to competitiveness in a world market. But precisely because of the tight anti-inflation, the economy has been achieving less stimulation than normal from government spending and fiscal policies. The Bank of Canada has been over-slowing its goal of

keeping money supply growth down to 10% to 12%, and has even felt able to reduce the bank rate by a full point in two months in the closing weeks of the year. A further fall is expected in the spring.

However, such queering the wheel is about counterproductive in the major sectors of the domestic economy, such as housing and business investment, even optimists concede that, eventually, Canada's prospective recovery may depend upon the health of her major trading partners, especially the United States. Strong demand for Canadian exports will have to supply the stimulus that neither private nor public action seems able to generate. That means the U.S. Gross National Product probably will have to grow by at least 5%, carries estimates generally vary between 4% and 5.6%. That 7% or 11% will make or break us," says Barry Chabot, a senior economist at Toronto-Dominion Bank.

For the sake of the North American economy, if not specifically for Canada, the financial community is pleased with the presently fashionable view that Jimmy Carter will keep the U.S. economy hot, not about to over-inflate the U.S. economy into inflation to appear his welfare and these constraints Canada's dependence on the U.S. economy during 1977 in the price of policy decisions taken by Ottawa in the early 1970s. And in view of the Trudeau Liberals' decision that unemployment rather than inflation was the main enemy, particularly in the 1972 and 1974 campaigns.

Derivat is hopefully managed in a set of its own making. It must reduce unemployment much during 1977 without raising further inflation. In any case, the public sector deficit is already running at about \$6.5% of GNP, double that of the United States and much more than the United Kingdom's 10.7%. Yet if moderately and disposable income actually do increase by only 1.2% in 1977, against 5.9% in 1976, as one forecast predicts, there may be a public outcry that would make the Canadian Labor Congress Day of Protest worth while.

"Steering a middle course" is the euphemistic consumers use to describe the pragmatic view Ottawa is expected to respond to its problems in 1977. Already, through the bank rate reductions, wage and employment programs, and further restrictions on credit, inflation is being restrained in order that there will be no inflation pressure for more monetary pumping during the government's expected re-election campaign as published in early Feb-



The 1977 business climate: six ways of looking at it



Howard C. Frazee, president, Canadian Bankers' Association
The Canadian economy is likely to continue a modest growth pattern during 1977. Inflation should moderate slightly but unemployment levels will be a major problem. Real gross national product should increase by about 4% to 4.5%. One of the brighter aspects is the outlook for Canadian exports, especially those to the United States. The favorable outlook for automobile sales in the U.S. will increase Canadian exports in that sector.



Lee D. Sinclair, chairman, Canadian Pacific Limited
The sluggish expansion of the economy this year probably will continue throughout 1977. Of the major categories of expenditures, personal consumption will increase moderately and government spending will not be a stimulative factor. Poor profits, liquidity problems, depressed markets, low capacity utilization rates and high unit labor costs will not be conducive to a large investment picture. Residential construction will decline.



Judith Maswell, director, Economic Policy Analysis, C.D.
We are doomed to a growth rate below the long-term average in 1977. The economy does not have the momentum to expand by as much as 5% and neither fiscal nor monetary policies could alter that trend. The rate of growth in productivity in 1977 and 1978 should help make some progress in dealing with some long term problems and conditions should be right for reversal of inflation.



A.E. Guenard, chairman, the Cadillac Fairview Corporation Limited
The uncertain outlook commenced with the Anti-Inflation Board regulations. In addition, the Quebec election results have introduced a great deal of uncertainty not only in the Province of Quebec but to the potential for economic instability throughout the country. We expect that in the first six months of 1977 there will be a decrease in housing starts of at least 15% to 20% in most urban centres.



Richard L. Brown, an independent adviser, the Bank of Nova Scotia
The agenda of problems is certainly not getting any shorter or easier, but we can cross off double-digit inflation, the rising dangers of an inter-national economic collapse, and we have muddled through on the worst pressures arising out of the oil recycling problem. Out of this kind of perspective, I believe one can look to the present set of problems as a test of our abilities and common sense, and not as a matter of inevitable failure and doom.



David Williams, vice-president, Beutel, Goodman & Company
People have been talking of two basic scenarios: a recovery continuing through 1977 with a recession in 1978, or a slower recovery extending on into 1978. We're inclined to the second. We think there will be real growth of 5% to 5.5% in the U.S. and 4% in Canada. The U.S. is the key to Canada. We think Carter will turn out to be surprisingly conservative, although there will be less dust there, and probably in Canada also.

rency, and the April budget may well stimulate substantial tax cuts.

Many private sector commentators are praying for the demise of the Anti-Inflation Board this year, partly as a means to restore business confidence, and partly because they believe the underlying assumptions of the economy minister's publications. But no one is asking the govern-

ment will not abandon its child without some tangible anti-inflation strategy.

Beyond all their misadventures is of course the problem of Quebec and separation. Although most Canadian economists characteristically prefer unity to ignore the issue, there is the perennial suspicion that Quebec may sabotage the economy solely in order to defuse the Parti Qué-

bécois referendum, whenever it may be held. The Liberals don't appear to have much up their sleeve yet, but it is reasonable that a year that sees such a mortal threat to an entrenched governing party could be anything other than a year in which politics dominates over economic policy. In which case all forecasts will prove irrelevant. — PETER SCHMIDTKE

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blend of choice grapes, each contributing its own subtle charm to the complexity of the flavour. Andres Moulin Blanc... light, dry and distinctive.

ANDRÉS
WINES OF FINE WINES



die in Indonesia July an estimated 100,000 are killed in northern China in one of the most severe earthquakes ever in a decade. Smithsonian Institution's Peking deep in the north for 17 days for fear of aftershocks. August, a 13-foot tsunami literally a sea wave, inundated by an earthquake on the ocean floor—blows the Philippines, leaving 175,000 homeless November, eastern Turkey is devastated.

Summing the damage means geologists say that the earth's crust cannot wait much active in 1976 than in others years. It will surely move active in major population centers. In 1977, if attempts held true about a million years will be re-

said by these conditions, an estimated 10,000 lives by successfully forecasting an earthquake in the Laramie region of Montana early in 1975. The Chinese, members of the Institute of Geology in 132 A.D.—in addition to more sophisticated scientific techniques—some unorthodox harbingers. 10,000 amateur observers, who compiled reports of an usual natural behavior—snakes coming out of their holes in winter, days, baring necessary, thousands that arrived all night.

Their success has prompted U.S. experts to follow suit. One California scientist is now attempting to use earthquakes—used to be naturally sensitive to vibrations—

shared Betty head of Dr. David's Geological Division says. "Can you imagine the lowest if they touched off a tremor that looked like Angkor?" Still, "my wish, such as, probably the best hope of saving San Francisco," adds geologist Henry Hally of the University of Toronto. "The absence of low levels of seismic activity in the area is a dangerous sign. It leads you to expect that when the quake occurs—a lot will be severe. Right now, I wouldn't set foot in the place."

Earthquake prediction may be a long-term possibility, but most scientists place their hope for the immediate future in better methods of predicting where and when earthquakes will strike. In fact says Betty "I've heard of recording risk in California, saying that what we desperately need now is a big earthquake. The information we'd collect from that would greatly improve our ability to make predictions." The problem is to "trap" an earthquake in a better instrumented area (there are some 400 seismographs along the 700 mile-long San Andreas Fault) then recording the pressures that give warning of the quake.

Attempts to avoid the signs attached to well-studied, properly made, seismographs reflect to forecast 1977's major quake locations. The common exception the Celebes Islands near New Guinea. The world's most seismically active area, earth scientists will probably register a magnitude 8 quake on the Red Sea side. The quake that killed 100,000 in China, some and only 8.2.

LEE DANFORTH

Carry on trekking

With its budget reduced to its lowest level in more than a decade, it will be a quiet year for the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The only new major space mission planned for '77 is the exploration of Jupiter, Saturn—and possibly Uranus—by Mariner 11 and 12. Scheduled for launching in August and September respectively, the two probes will require two years to reach Jupiter, another year en route to the ringed planet. Saturn and four years (1984) to spin the full that stretches to distant Uranus. Time-lapse made, the mission is expected to yield enormous quantities of rich scientific data. The two Mariners will surmount 10 orbiting moons of Saturn and Jupiter, including Saturn's mysterious Titan, the only known object in the solar system with an atmosphere comparable in density to the earth's.

Closer to home, scientists are still interpreting last year's hints. Viking mission to Mars. Two Viking explorers circling the red planet will continue to transmit information for most of the year. Space biologists are especially anxious for the results of soil wet experiments, which they hope will finally establish whether or not there is organic activity on Mars (previous tests have provided an-

swers only). Although all the evidence to date seems to point against life existing on Mars now, it may have existed once before, the planet has changed radically over the centuries. To get a closer look at how those changes have affected Martian topography, one Viking orbiter will be adjusted to sweep within 200 miles of the surface, permitting photography of horizontal oblique. The camera will likely be focused on the north polar cap (known to be a glacier of water ice) and the stations closest that were once Martian rivers.

The Soviet space program for 1977 appears designed to drop away at the U.S. lead in orbital space races on. Some have

ironed liner to temporarily "blind" an orbiting American satellite. And there are well-documented cases of Soviet target satellites being launched and then followed by killer satellites that track their prey and blast them with a bus-like double explosion. Pentagon officials have denied the latter blinding story, arguing—in the words of one Kremlin watcher—that "it scarcely makes military sense to let probes at your enemy when you have your own targets to shoot at." (The official defense department line is that American early-warning satellites were blinded by natural gas fires along a pipeline in Western Russia.)莫斯科

Currie, director of defense research and engineering, admits that "the Soviets have used the scenario and opened a space war in a new dimension for warfare. We should not permit them to develop an asymmetry in space."

The United States too is testing satellite killers, although one missile warfare expert suggests that "the most reliable way to knock down a satellite is still with an anti-satellite missile launched from earth." In any event, the killer satellite technique is most effective against satellites that stay in geosynchronous orbits, 22,000 miles above the equator. More sensitive surveillance instruments orbit farther out.



Scenes from earthquakes, July, 1976: every year is "The Year of the Quake"

corded around the world, the vast majority to small or too remote to be harmful. But scientists also expect about 1,000 shocks powerful enough to cause substantial local damage. The problem is to forecast where—and when—they will occur.

Increasingly earthquakes are predictable disasters, but to the frustration of seismologists and civil emergency organizations, problems are rarely precise enough—yet—in be of much practical value. Earth scientists generally agree that both Los Angeles and San Francisco are overdue for major shocks. But even though a recurrence of the quake that leveled San Francisco in 1906 is not due in estimated 100,000 deaths, 300,000 injuries and \$15 billion in property damage, the cost of closing California and waiting for the earth to move is considered prohibitive.

Some authorities doubt the usefulness of any quake predictions, no matter how accurate. The respected British geologist, however, notes gloomily "It is entirely possible that the social and economic disruptions and property loss from the prediction will greatly exceed that from the earthquake." Chinese scientists unambigu-



or forecast major tremors.

Some scientists believe it may be possible to pinpoint harmless local earthquakes by pumping water under pressure into quake zones—in effect giving the rocks for minor tremors in the hope of relieving the pressures that cause large ones. Now, a group of trained scientists have suggested using the same thing at a site midway between Los Angeles and San Francisco. So far, the project has been stalled by local oil miners and the fourth attempt set off a major quake. As Dr. Mi-



A revolution of a killer satellite knocking out a victim that was transcended earth?

this year, the Soviets will attempt to break the 44-day space endurance record set by the U.S. Bionik 3 astronauts in 1974 by launching an improved Soyuz space station. From this orbiting base, two cosmonauts will conduct extravehicular activities—the first for the Russians in seven years. The mission will also include observations of celestial objects, medical evaluation of the crew, and the most serious, testing to date of closed-loop reproductive systems. Eventually the Soyuz station will probably serve as the core module for a manned excursion to Mars, which some American analysts believe is the ultimate goal of the USSR's program. One certain sign that the Soviets are not conceding manned exploration to the United States is the expected appointment this year of second East European to the cosmonaut job. There is also a good chance that a Cuban and a Moroccan will be named to future Russian missions.

While most observers readily concede the U.S. lead in space exploration, they are more nonchalant about Soviet developments in killer satellite technology. In November, there were published reports that the Soviets had used a high-powered elec-



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field except during emergencies and he says of their great distance from Earth are almost impossible to find.

According to some observers, the most exciting space developments of the year will occur in the realm of the unknown search for extraterrestrial life. In a program coordinated by two California-based research centers, NASA has launched as much ambitious attempts over to send-drop on radio transmissions from distant civilizations. Allen E. Cox, senior research director, publicly acknowledges on the radio frequency of the electromagnetic spectrum, since radio waves travel unimpeded in space. And intelligent signals would likely be coded in ways obviously different from ordinary radio signals by other space objects—"something like the difference between waves crashing on a beach and a lighthouse," says Cornell University's Dr. Frank Drake, the first scientist to search for extraterrestrial intelligences in space.

NASA's first goal is to build a multi-channel, spectral analyzer that can simultaneously monitor a million different radio frequencies. The device, expected to cost about one million dollars, will take two years to build. It's look is like a computer, "looking" the signals of a million radio-frequency television sets for years, hoping to pick up a program on one of them. But no major breakthroughs are expected until dozens capable of monitoring a billion channels are built. "Such a device, say, will be only 10 years away," says Ray Eshleman of NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory. "But it's the direction we have to go for a reasonable chance of payoff."

HERBERT GOLDEN

Small, smaller, smallest

In 1979 MIT physicist Samuel Ting paid a visit to his colleague, Benoit Gell-Mann of Stanford University. Ben told Ting "I have some interesting physics to tell you." Raphael Richter, "Sam" Gell-Mann's managing physicist to tell one. It was what the two scientists had to tell each other was precisely the same thing: using different techniques, both had discovered a new subatomic, particle—now known as the *charm quark*—a finding that united the two different elementary particle physics on the collision floor.

For millions of scientists, more is known about these particle physics. The quarks—neutrons, proton leptons etc.—in remote, the concepts complex. And much of the search for the charm quark was done in 1975 Nobel laureate, in inert state. The discovery provided the first experimental evidence for a new type of quark, the *charm*, family of matter.

First proposed in 1963 by Murray Gell-Mann, another Nobel Prize winner, the quark theory posits each subatomic particle as a cluster of two or three quarks. (The term quark derives from an obscure line in James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*. Three quarks for Master Mark.) Gell-Mann posited the existence of three types of quarks, but the odd behavior of the *charm* did not accord with Gell-Mann's theory. Though its existence was calculated



The first convincing evidence for such a particle came only weeks ago from Berkeley's team of 40 physicists at Stanford. Using the recently's new-to-long linear accelerator, positive and negative electrons were accelerated to within a fraction of a percent of the velocity of light and allowed to smash into each other in the hope that charm particles would turn up in the resulting debris. (Since no equipment can detect a charm particle in its presence, most have inferred from radioactive decay of the particles.) After studying thousands of collisions, researchers came up with about 200 "events" in which charm particles seem to have been produced. Their results—published by nature last week—show they were published in the theoretical production of Gell-Mann and his collaborators at Harvard. Gell-Mann, who had pointed out to his lab of charm particles were not seen before the end of 1975, is under steadily pleased. "With the charm quark behaving as it responded to the evidence for the quark model is compelling," he says. "There is no one around who doesn't believe in quarks now."

Founder and Ting (below) and a drawing of an atom identifying quarks by which they move in space by jet stream.



as a handful of billions of a billionth of a second that occur at least 1,000 times faster than any other subatomic particle. To account for a physicist had to find of the decade-old suggestion of Harvard's Sheldon Glashow, who had predicted the existence of a fourth "charm" quark. The properties of *charm* were consistent with those of a particle made up of two "charm" quarks, but further work were needed to confirm their existence. A particle with this charm of property had to be produced. The *charm* could be told the requirement, the charm of its quarks would be a particle made up of two positive and negative decays, charged quarks. (Physicists say that its charm is "hidden") A charm quark particle must contain only one charm quark.

For the moment it is impossible to say what the impact of this new-found knowledge about the structure of matter will be. "There's the most far-out of all basic research," says Richter. "This new early to speculate. Applications will come after we have learned more and digested things. Ask me again in 30 years, maybe I can answer you then." Although particle physicists think their work will eventually yield practical applications, their motivation comes more from a desire to understand the world around them. Says Richter's Dec 1979. "This work is the oldest sort of the force a million years ago, digging their hands on the ground. It may turn out that these positions will be a sad day for the chemists." R. JAMES HARRIS

Preview Medicine

Ray of hope, ray of life



When the federal department of state passed a ruling in August 1975 forbidding diabetes to operate heavy equipment, Chas. Hestonington—a 27-year-old diabetic truck driver—found himself out of work. To add injury to insult, he woke up one morning a few weeks later with his vision blurred. When contacted to find he consulted a doctor. The last diagnosis, diabetic retinopathy—the second most common cause of blindness in Canada and a disease that sooner or later affects 95% of all diabetics. According to his ophthalmologist, it would leave him blind within 10 years. But now thanks to landmark developments in laser surgery, Hestonington's prognosis is considerably more favorable.

Using the argon gas laser (the world is a surgery for light applications by its use), Hestonington's vision loss can be cut by 90%. A powerful light beam passes right through the eye without affecting any tissue except its target. In diabetic retinopathy, blood vessels on the surface of the retina leak while new vessels sprout and hemorrhage into the eye's vitreous body, not forming but cause blindness in within one-tenth of a second of an inch. The argon laser coagulation weakens blood vessels and destroys new ones—thus, decreasing the amount of blood required and preventing scarring and hemorrhaging.

Although lasers are most commonly used in the treatment of diabetes, their application in other fields of medicine is increasing dramatically. Most major North American hospitals now use lasers for other ophthalmological ailments as well as for treating the retina and uveitis of the eye.

In fact, the efficacy of lasers in the control of bleeding has led to great improvements of its use in surgery involving heavily

Dr. Chas. Hestonington of Toronto administers laser treatment to the eyes of patient Jack May, insert is normal eye, as blood vessels filled with a gas that populates breaks, if any, before surgery.

blood-vessel surgery. At Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children, orthopedic surgeon Dr. Walter Bechtold is using lasers experimentally to speed surgery on rabbits and pigs. "The laser can achieve bleeding by up to 90%," says Bechtold. "But what I'm still trying to determine is whether the photocoagulation effect lowers the blood supply in the bone so as to be able to permit normal healing." He expects to have results before the year's end. At New York's Beth Israel Medical Center, Dr. Albert Weinman gives laser treatment to a 38-year-old patient suffering from hemiplegic gait (hemiplegic ulcers).

After those laser applications, the bleeding stopped and the tumor appeared normal in New Orleans, at Louisiana State University Medical Center. Dr. Joseph Bellin has used the laser to treat more than 250 women with vaginal and cervical problems including cancer. Their womans' heated about bleeding, pain or scars, and often within 21 days. Says Bellin: "The light beam is so accurate that if I wanted to remove five cells from a particular site, I could remove five—and that's all. The adjacent cells wouldn't be injured." One New Jersey surgical team has even used laser beams to destroy deeply embedded brain tumors. From ulcers to papillomas (benign tumors on the tongue) the laser is rapidly becoming surgery's most effective scalpel.

Says Dr. Lionel Chavkin, the Toronto Western Hospital ophthalmologist who treated Chas. Hestonington: "If the laser is as successful in other applications as it has proved to be for diabetic retinopathy, a whole new world of use in surgery involving heavily

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Preview Music

Giving the people what they want, and if they don't know, telling them

Inside the glittering Milan opera house elegant first-nighters showed rows on the stage as Orfeo reached his finale. Outside, the publicist's shouted instructions on the theatre in protest against the display of class. As patrons—who paid up to \$360 a ticket for this season's opening—left the vast subterranean La Scala, they muttered angrily about their expensive detour. "But they love it here!"

It couldn't happen in Canada, where state-subsidized Serious Music organizations—Canada Council grants for the 1976-77 season totaled \$6,358,000—are steadily going through a post-funk stage and the preceding era of symphonic orchestral chamber groups and opera companies is a loved and hearty "It all comes!" It's called "democratization," and we can expect a lot more of it in 1977. Watch and learn for:

• **Ever more manifestations of The Danny Norman Method.** Newsies, Chicago Lyric Opera publicist, at a Canada Council estimate of about \$20,000 annually and regularly passes from sea to sea, lifting symphonies how to raise up their subjects with hard-soft. To Norman, the single-note bayer is "the enemy" who picks and chooses among concerts. The season subscriber is part of "the family," someone who gives you music in advance and is a friend. The donor is a look for a look if there's a biased the night of the show. The philosophy: Self-Enrichment, and self as it would any other commodity such as Coca-Cola or Ipanema. The method: Supply breakfast, manager repeats two messages, food-making buffet/banquet. It's been effective: the Vancouver Symphony (which subscribes to the Norman Method) has a subscription list of 28,000, second highest of any symphony on the continent.

• **More German Mables.** Currently in vogue: possibly as much as Karl Rainer's film *Maler*, which seems to be doing for this romantic German composer what a Chabrier George did for Berlioz. In 1977 for Richard Strauss and Bayreuth for Schubert. If the emotional impact of the film got to you, there's a good chance the film did too, you'll find there more all of it, and symphonies are plan-makers to give you what you want. For a 1978 production, check the soundtrack of Rainer's next film.

• **A lot of noise about the freeze in grants.** The Canada Council is threatened with a cutoff this year—except the Treasury Board doesn't know for sure what it will be under the Association of Canadian



The Toronto Symphony at Ontario Place: older, but greener

Orchestra is lobbying on behalf of its 40 member organizations. The problem is as serious as Serious Music: the lobbyists because musicians' salaries although not super-high still add up. Even with lion-soft, private (hard-soft) and full houses, there's usually a deficit. Keep these cards and letters working: "We'll be the donor of the association's note as campaign which is a hoped will involve 600,000 pre-paid statements to the the Secretary of State and local level."

• **More live music in your community.** The problem of keeping up top-flight associations with interested but possibly inexperienced promoters is being met by cross-fact, a Canada-Council sponsored program that runs annually in both eastern and western Canada. This year it was held in Vancouver and Production Solomus and classical groups arose from all over the country to "audience" at 20 major intervals for beyond from universities, small-town chamber societies and orchestras that want to book acts. It's not quite the "total market" of New York's concert scene where a buyer casually browsing the promotional material might find his finger tapped at 20-minute intervals by an eager promoter. "They must want a good orchestra!" How about Isaac Stern? The Canadian way is a

little less "pushy"—you hear the show your money go home to med for a month then place your order.

• **Lot of tie-topping, tam of the century bands.** In Canada, it's like patient participants at the dentist. Tam-tam-bee-dee, waving, beanie, cowboy-come-on, the-hill so that says Toronto Symphony people. Stephen Adler: "even if you're wearing a beanie, you'll feel alone inside." Expect a tariff of William Tell overture and other "old warblers" during which you will only get to sleep your face, you know when the stamps are coming.

• **The Canadian Opera Company's** new general director, Lothar Mannes. Like other opera companies (directors in Winnipeg and Edmonton, Manitoba, don't mind much cash—but his philosophy does seem to fit beautifully with the concept "democratization." At the COC's better-led conferees press conference to announce the company season, he said he means to get away from the traditional La Bohème that 85 the house and try some new fare. But, hasty a reporter, Canadian audiences like the golden older. How will you fit the empty seats? Who will you play to fill the play? "I replied Mannes, without missing a beat. "To whatever good you can recommend!" SANDRA PERLINO

Preview Television

Tired of the same old pap? Then watch folks die, live and in color

In *Kamel*, a current movie following the many students of TV, the eighth new is based on a classic starring two sword-planning men known as the Mad Prophet of the Assassins and Sybil the Sorcerer, and a young woman is here to pull off bank heists and kidnappings on a regular weekly basis to provide money for her ongoing new action show. So far no such shows have been announced by the major U.S. networks, but the industry doesn't lag for behind the faraway imagination. Already this season we've witnessed the spread of new television series being named into million-dollar-a-year superstars we've been asked to suspend disbelief in Elisabeth Taylor playing the hysterical Jewish maids of a hostage in *Flame* (it's *Flame*), and we've been asked to shake over the wedding of a giraffe character on *Peter* while we knew perfectly well that the screen in the white gown (Judith Lowy) had collapsed and died soon after the show was aired.

Can 1977 get that? Well, one promise to stir the year off with a bang on a special called *Don't Know's Death* (to be in January 31). The show will be telecast live (hazy catastrophe, one might add), and will feature a supporting cast of characters from various locations across the United States all performing death-defying stunts. We are cheerfully informed by a true press release that *Kamel* will climax the event by attempting to jump over the world's largest waterfall with a pool (to be in the Chicago Amphitheatre) which for the occasion will have a giant killer shark. And that's just for starters. Here are some of the other stunts you can look forward to following on your TV screen in 1977:

• **The parable of General Motors and Jesus.** The *Life of Jesus* will have been the spectacle of spectacles. Two years in the making, directed by the extensively renowned Italian Franco Zeffirelli with a 150-member budget, the cast included Olivia de Havilland, Laurence Olivier, Anne Bancroft, James Mason, and Peter Onorati; it was set to be shown on an Sunday night ending on Easter Sunday. One of the most bombastic aspects was the 8-ounce dead—a key constant of which was General Motors, which was to sponsor the show on U.S. television without commercial interruptions. Now suddenly you've pulled out of the deal. A note states from a spokesman that the decision is based on a recommitment of GM's Chevrolet models for 1977 and on new projects on the company's request for Zeffirelli's work. But obviously someone high up at GM was



Kamel at work: if viewers are really lucky, they'll see a shark gobble him up

some of the footage was scared off. At the moment the big push on the board is on the season being aired on the board rooms at NBC while the hysterical search for a new sponsor goes on. Whether *The Life of Jesus* will make it to the air this Easter is now a matter of pure faith.

• **Are the not-ready-for-prime-time players finally ready?** Lorne Michaels, the young Canadian producer who has made a sensational impact with *Hearts and Bones* on NBC's *Saturday Night*, has stayed in his ice-cream shop and resisted temptations to move into prime time for the very good reason that he would almost certainly be under pressure to make the show less controversial. But TV executives are making *Saturday Night* a weekly show to prime time with two special features: full commercial coverage. One of those special stars Chevy Chase, who left *Saturday Night* in October; the other feature is a young young-soldier-comedian, Richard Pryor. The idea is to see whether the mass audience is ready—and if the response is good, that will be reflected in the fall schedule.

• **How do you say that in Québécois?** Michel Tremblay, the talented Québécois whose characters have roared around the Montreal Man cartooning in jail, has had his work performed all over Canada, but on Quebec he has always refused to show his play in French. He has refused to be a bilingual language of Québec, even in French. But now he has changed his mind and made a deal with the drama department of the CBC which will put *Les Belles*

Soeurs on the air next fall in English, under the direction of André Bonneau, who has staged the original French production of most of Tremblay's plays in Montreal. The reason for the change? The French network of the CBC didn't want to work with Bonneau (preferring its staff director) and wasn't enthusiastic about plot, either. So Tremblay is teaching Radio-Canada a lesson by bringing his play in English language television instead. It's sure a French expression meaning "he makes you feel like a fool."

• **Temporary interference.** In its never-ending effort to give the audience what it wants, the Canadian network the CBC will present *Kate Reid as Nellie McLaughlin*, Donald Sutherland, in Norman Bethune, and someone (or other) (to be announced) in *Loose Left*. But the most seriously dramatic show may take place off the air as the Saskatchewan government challenges Federal Communications Minister Jeanne Sauvé's master plan of creating a national pay-TV network. The Canadian Radio-Television Commission will be holding hearings while Mike Sauvé travels across the country soothing militant farmers and wondering why everyone is so upset. But *Saskatchewan* may cause the Minister Ned Skillington says. Monthly "Pay-TV is legally a provincial responsibility and we're not going to give the federal government a blank check to do anything. We have plans of our own." The Mad Prophet predicts that no matter what happens 1977 on the tube won't be boring. MARTHA MANN

Behold the Great Oracle of Vancouver! Sees all! Knows all! Tells all! Reasonable rates

Column by Alan Fotheringham

For political analysts, the only problem in explaining the unfathomable moieties that is left behind. The future is a myth. One can stare, with an unquestionable degree of certainty, that certain things will happen in the year 1977. A few of them:

The public (kind-tongued) does to read Joe Davidson back to Scotland will be overabundant.

Montreal Canadians will win the Stanley Cup by default, the rest of the row having conceded in early March.

Larry Zolt will not be appointed to the Senate.

John Turner, encountering a crowd of 208 at a Promote Club "off-the-record" lunch when he expected to meet only 50, will return to court.

A tall reporter, such as the Brice Phillips, will accidentally step on a short Quebec premier. René Lévesque, as a federal province on offense and threaten the future of Confederation.

Cit will buy new glasses for Peter Greenwood.

Elizabeth Taylor will get divorced again.

External Affairs Minister Don Jamieson, telling Neville Gibson jokes at a United Nations cocktail party, will be recognized as a new nation and, being asked to supply his own gift, will raise hell on his wallet.

Ono Lang will travel so much on Air Canada the newswriters will call him children by their names first names.

Elaine Foner will write six letters to the editor of the Toronto Globe and Mail explaining the JNA Act. Donald Smith will reply to five of them. The public will not understand the first five and neither Foner nor Smith the sixth.

Farley Mowat will tap his left or right drop his pants on TV. Jack McCallum will claim he had nothing to do with it.

A all Alberta cabinet minister will accidentally step on a short Alberta premier Peter Lougheed, on the way to the bathroom, and threaten the future of Confederation.

Mitchell Sharp, having been released from the ethical marketplace of the cabinet will acquire corporate directorships at a rate exceeding that of John Turner.

Leo Chelid, having been the corporate master of ethics, is agreeing to a contract with the Lomas and then breaking out 12 hours later when he found he could go to the Toronto Argonauts instead, will be sought as a resource person at a Liberal party book-talk.

René Lévesque's fever for a referendum



Taylor and Gibson: who else is left?



data on September will demolish in direct ratio to his contact with New York investment bankers.

Larry Zolt will not be awarded the Order of Canada.

There will be a world speed record broken by the federal government 88000 psi on and some way to late (11) released as a Mustang Valley pipeline before Mr. Justice Thomas Breyer's one-man Mackenzie Valley inquiry delivers its report in early spring.

Talks of Newfoundland's John Crosbie (who has nothing but brains, money and toughness) taking over the Tory leadership from Joe Clark will be succeeded only by the talk of Toronto's Ben Akers returning to the Commons and succeeding Joe Clark.

Zia Zia Ghior will be divorced again. Jim Coates Trudeau's personal secretary will buy a new pair of red suspenders. Mackay Keweenaw's conduct has been put up for inches by AGM.

The most interesting (and vicious) conspiracy battle will come when Richard Holden—the inner circle involved in the deal—pudge after—sumps to steel the Tory Westernmost nomination from Tory external president, Michael M. P. 4.

The future of Confederation will be decided. Charles Lynch and Margaret Nichols having driven the 111 businessmen into a small room where 10 of the 11 leaders are hospitalized—what eight hours of negotiation — on the corporate master commanded by René Lévesque.

Alan Engleman, the real president of the 444, who has arranged that 200,000 federal 22-year-olds are paid \$10,000 a year, will explain that so, who have gone bankrupt.

Joe Clark seated next to Claude Wagner

in the Tory front bench will not speak to him from February to May Wagner will leave the forest.

Montreal Alouettes, having signed Isaac Compagnon on fullback, will win the Grey Cup. Ono Lang, being asked to kick off the first ball, will take the subway to the game.

The next Olympic leadership contest will be conducted by Ed Broadbent, Ed Schooner and Paul Hellyer.

Trudeau, exasperated by the failure of his new bus on talking to the press in daily seminars, will hit a radio reporter. The reporter will appear short again on the Peter Greenwood show and will be challenged for a Canadian heavyweight title fight by George Chuvalo. The reporter will win.

Judy LaMarsh's report on why violence on TV is bad, which is well known, will be released. Someone will point out that jurisdiction over TV is federal minister Bill Davis will say "Oh".

There will never be a roof built on Montreal's Olympic stadium over athletes' toilets (as just an all-weather roof, has a simple canvas umbrella, useful only for keeping the man off a summer ball game from Despres will become famous for the New World season of the leaning tower of Pisa. Don't knock them.

Trudeau, who has given up attempts to learn how to wash, will continue on his path of making the Senate as even more instant parliament for ignored Liberal lack. Not being able to find her brothers for Ray Norrish, Jean Marchand, Jack Austin or the PM's own conservative president, John Diefenbaker, will attempt to appoint to the Senate John Diefenbaker (retired), Stanley Knowlton (retired) and the Grey (who will give her one half the peace signal). My own movements (don't, taking away 22, is Margaret).

Elizabeth Taylor will marry Zia Zia Ghior

ILLUSTRATION BY MICHAEL BROWN



The Smokey Mary

We never dreamed when we first launched the Smirnoff Bloody Mary it would become a global classic. That doesn't mean, however, that most folks know how to make a really good one; or even care to bother. One fellow we know "kicks out," as he says, with the Smirnoff Mary. "To put the bite on it, I just add red barbecue sauce." A capital idea, for those who hate to fuss. If you should become a Smokey Mary

enthusiast, do place your drink. Try to remember that where there's smoke, there's fire. To make a Smokey Mary pour 1 1/2 ounces of Smirnoff into a glass with ice and stir with tomato juice. Add about a tablespoon of barbecue sauce to taste, a squeeze of lemon, and stir.

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